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## INTRODUCTION.

**A**LL cosmographers are agreed, that The History of the Indies is more instructive and entertaining, than that of any other part of the known world; not only for their animal, vegetable, and mineral productions, which are all in their kinds curious and surprising; but also, with regard had, to the several and respective advantages accruing to the European nations, from their correspondence and commerce with these distant regions.

As it is impossible to turn one's thoughts upon this subject, without delight and admiration; so is it very probable, that it was the Sense they had of these prodigious benefits, which induced emperors and kings, for a long series of time, to bend a great part of their endeavours to the encouragement of merchants and mariners; that they might, by these means, be enabled to share in the profits arising from the India trade, and make farther discoveries. But altho' it is evident enough, that India was peopled in the earliest ages; yet there is no

## INTRODUCTION.

country whose ancient history is so obscure, confused and indistinct.

However, as it is altogether foreign to our purpose, either to point out the causes of this defect, or to endeavour to supply them; we would recommend such as have a taste for ancient history, either to the Universal History, or to Dr. Harris's Collection, where they may be furnished with sufficient materials for this kind of amusement.

We, in the mean time, shall content ourselves with such accounts of the Indies as are to be found within the compass of the Christian Æra; which, we flatter ourselves, will be altogether as pleasing to the reader, and appear more credible than some of those relations that are palmed upon the public in the more voluminous productions. It is for this reason we have judged it most proper to introduce the following History, with a succinct account of the first discoveries, and conquests of the Portuguese in the East; and their several establishments, till such time as other European nations began to interfere with them in those wealthy climates.

A New





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# New Universal Collection OF VOYAGES and TRAVELS.

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## CHAP. I.

*Of the origin and growth of the Portuguese empire in the East Indies.*



IN the year 1486, John II. king of Portugal, among other endeavours to gain a perfect knowledge of the state of the Indies, employed one of his courtiers, called Bartholomew Diaz, a person remarkable for his skill in navigation, for prudence, and courage, to proceed along the south coast of Africa, who executed his commission with equal conduct and success. He took with him some negroes, who had been in his service several years. These he

often put on shore in handsome dresses, and with some goods, to inform the people of the kind treatment they had met with among the Portuguese; and set up stones, with the arms of his master cut thereon, to assert the king's title to the countries, by him discovered.

In this expedition, he at length got sight of a high cape, where meeting with tempestuous weather, he lost his victualler. Upon this unlucky incident, his men mutined; but, on the captain's telling them, that the only means they had to preserve themselves, was to double the cape, and sail forwards till they should arrive at some place where they might be supplied with provisions, they all became quiet; so he proceeded a good way beyond it, and came to a place, where he, the captain, erected another pillar, and having procured a small quantity of Refreshments, he returned. In his passage back, he met with the victualling bark, but out of the nine men he had left in her, only three remained alive; one of whom died with joy on seeing his captain. He arrived at Lisbon in December, 1487, having discovered the coast for above 1000 miles. He gave his majesty a full account of all that had happened; and insisted more particularly on the dangers he had escaped in doubling that stupendous promontory, which, from the boisterous sea near it, he called the  
Tempestuous

Tempestuous Cape; but the king having more knowledge of the importance of this discovery, named it the Cape of Good Hope, which name it retains to this day: this prince being now fully convinced that the passage to the East Indies lay open, and that one voyage more would finish what he had so much set his heart upon, instantly set about contriving means to put this noble design in execution; but died before they were compleated.

Don Emanuel, his son-in-law and successor, tho', for some time, he had been warmly opposed by his council in this affair; at length determined to tread in the steps of his predecessor, and to compleat with glory what he had begun. In consequence of this resolution, he ordered a small force to be fitted out for the purpose, consisting of three armed ships, and one store-ship; giving the command of them to Don Vasquez de Gama, who embarked on board the Gabriel; July 9, 1497, which was the admiral of this little fleet, tho' of no more than 120 tons burthen. In November following he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and in January put into a port of Ethiopia. He then entered the port of Mozambique, where his guns preserved him, and from thence sailed to Melinda, where he was kindly received by the prince. From hence he steered for the coast of Malabar, and arrived safe at Calicut;

Calicut ; where he first heard of a powerful prince, called the Samorin, or Emperor. Here, he met with an extraordinary act of friendship ; for on his first coming ashore with his officers, a moor of Tunis, who, by their dress, knew them to be Portuguese, generously offered them his service, and accordingly acquainted the Samorin, that a rich and powerful nation, were come from the farthest parts of the earth, to seek his friendship, and to procure leave to trade with his subjects. Upon this, Gama was allowed to anchor in that port, was admitted to an audience, and treated with all imaginable respect.

However, affairs did not continue long in this situation ; for great numbers of Mahometans being settled in the dominions of this prince, they took no inconsiderable pains to misrepresent the Portuguese to the Samorin ; insinuating, they were a cruel people, and that their design was to depose him, and to conquer his country. These stories had such an effect upon the Indian king, that he began to form schemes for the destruction of the admiral and his people. Don Vasquez, having early intelligence of this design, proceeded to the island of Angedive, where having repaired his ships and refreshed his Men, he sailed for Europe. In his passage home, he touched at Melinda, the king whereof sent with him an ambassador

dor to Portugal. Vasquez finding by the way that his crew was much lessened, burnt one of his ships; which was commanded by his brother, and took the men on board his own. In September, 1499, he arrived safe at Belin; having spent two years and two months in this voyage.

The success of this first voyage paved the way for a second expedition. For which purpose a fleet was fitted out, consisting of sixteen sail; some of them were large ships, and effectually manned. Of this Squadron Don Pedro Alvarez de Capral was appointed general and commander in chief; who carried with him some priests; besides whom, he had 1500 chosen men on board. He sailed from Lisbon about the middle of March, 1500, for the Indies. In his passage, to avoid the storms that were met with in doubling the cape, he stood out to sea, and found himself upon an unknown continent opposite to the coast of Africa, which made a good appearance. Here he went ashore, took possession of it, in the name of his master, and called it the Land of the Holy Cross; but is since known by the name of Brazil.

Soon after he left this place he was surprized with a dreadful storm which lasted twenty days, in which he lost one of his ships, and many of his Men; among whom was Bartholomew Diaz, who first doubled the

the cape. The general however, continued his voyage, and refreshed at Mozambique; entering the port in a shattered condition. He went from thence to Quiloa; then continuing his rout to Melinda; he set on shore the ambassador of that prince, who was brought over to Portugal by Gama. He proceeded from hence to the Angedive islands, where he was well received, and suffered to refit, at his leisure. The Samorin sent some persons of distinction to compliment him on his arrival, and to invite him to Calicut; of which invitation he was willing to accept, on condition they would send hostages for his security. The Samorin consented to his demands, and he was admitted to an audience; after which the Samorin made him the present of a house, by a conveyance engrossed in gold letters. He suffered him also, to set up the standard of Portugal, to appoint a factor for his nation, and to open warehouses for the carrying on of commerce: the new factor, upon some slight information, told the general, that the Samorin intended him ill; Vazquez therefore began to seize the ships of the Indians. They in return attacked the Portuguese factory, broke open the gates, and burnt the house, killing fifty out of sixty-six people. For this outrage the general took a severe revenge, he burnt ten rich ships that were in the port, and made all their crews slaves; then

then beating down several houses about their ears, he sailed for Cochin.

The king of Cochin being at this time highly incensed against the Samorin, received him kindly; and concluded a treaty with him; into which, the princes of Coulan and Cananor were admitted, on condition they would send ambassadors to Portugal. They readily accepted the offer, and the general having put on board a rich cargo, with the three ambassadors, sailed from Cochin for Europe.

In the mean time, the Samorin fitted out a formidable fleet, with 2000 men on board, which he sent in pursuit of the Portuguese; but they being better sailors escaped this danger. In this general's short passage home, one of his ships unfortunately run ashore on the coast of Melinda. To prevent the mahometans from taking advantage of this accident, he nailed up the cannon, and set fire to the ship; but the king of Monbaza found means to recover the guns, and to make them serviceable, to the great prejudice of the Christians; tho' the Portuguese general pursued his voyage and returned to Lisbon, in July 1501. He brought with him a very rich cargo, and the ambassadors of three kings. On his arrival he gave his majesty a grand account of the exploits he had performed against the Samorin; but all these did not procure him a kind reception, on account

count of the number of gallant men who perished in the voyage, and were not to be replaced by all the wealth of the Indies.

Don Emanuel, a prince of great penetration, entertained some notions of what might happen in this last expedition, from the haughty temper of the general, and therefore had sent a squadron of four sail to the Indies, under the command of Juan Nova Colleca, who missed of the general, and proceeded to Melinda; where being informed of what had passed at Calicut and Cochin, he continued his voyage to Cananor; there complimented the king on the part of his master, and then proceeded to Cochin. In this navigation he fell in with the Samorin's fleet, consisting of 80 sail, which he fought for a whole day, and having sunk ten large ships, besides small vessels, and killed 400 men, obliged them to return to Calicut. After this victory he was received with open arms at Cochin; there victualled his ships, took in a rich cargo, and returned to Europe.

King Emmanuel being now convinced of the necessity of sending a greater force into the Indies, ordered 20 sail of stout ships to be fitted out for this purpose, and determined to engage Vazquez de Gama to go thither a second time. He readily sacrificed the blessings of a happy life to his country's service, sailed from Lisbon in 1503, doubled the



the cape, and on his arrival at Quiloa, obliged the king thereof to become tributary to his master; and agree to the payment of 2000 crowns of gold every year for the future. This done, he sailed to Cananor, and set the ambassador on shore, then proceeded to Cochin. While he was here, the Samorin made use of every artifice to engage the king of Cochin to betray Vasquez into his hands, which that prince refused. Hereupon the Samorin got together a fleet of 29 sail to attack Don Vasquez, when he was about to return with his fleet heavy laden, and on his preparing to return to Europe; he sent this mighty force against him. The Portuguese general suffered them to come very near, and then engaging two of their largest ships, and killing 400 men, the rest jumped into the sea; this frightened their companions to such a degree, that they made off in the utmost confusion. In the two ships that were taken, Don Vasquez found vast riches; for, besides gold and silver plate, there was in one of them an idol, which weighed sixty pounds in gold. In the head of this idol, were two emeralds for eyes, and in the breast a ruby of the size of a chesnut, with a robe embroidered with pearls, topazes, and diamonds. Vasquez, having taken out the treasure, burnt the ships, and proceeded to Cananor, from thence to Mozambique, and so to Lisbon, where he

was joyfully received; and the tribute of the king of Quiloa was carried before him in a silver basin by way of triumph.

As soon as Vasquez de Gama left the country, the Samorin raised an army of 50,000 men, with which he marched by land, against the king of Cochin. The news of this invasion terrified the subjects of that prince so much, that they began to curse the Portuguese, and to intreat the king to give up those of that nation that were left in his hands, and renounce his alliance with them; the king on this occasion behaved with great resolution, ordered the Portuguese a strong guard, and resolved to put all things to the hazard, rather than forfeit his word.

In this juncture Vincent Sodrez luckily arrived with the fleet under his command, to whom the king, in this extremity, applied for relief. The Portuguese officer was brave, and well versed in his business; but he loved money, and had now met with a very easy way of obtaining it, by plundering the Mahometan traders. As he was to act by sea, he resolved not to land one man. This amazed the king, and enraged the Portuguese that were at Cochin. Sodrez, however, without giving himself the least pain about it, sailed for the Red Sea, in order to make prizes, where he and his brother were drowned; and his ship lost. Now the Samorin proceeded with his army into the territories

territories of Cochin, and forced a pass which led to the capital. The king being informed of this, sent the Portuguese to the island of Viapan for their security, which was a place of great strength, being by nature inaccessible, furnished with a numerous garrison, and provided with considerable magazines.

The Samorin carrying all before him, and the king of Cochin's troops daily deserting; he found himself obliged to follow the Portuguese to Viapan; here he was several times attacked by the enemies; but as often repulsed them, and at last obliged the Samorin to return to his own dominions. About this time Francis Albuquerque arrived from Portugal in those seas, who, having joined another Portuguese squadron at the Angedive islands, under the command of Pedro A. taida; he sailed directly to Viapan, where he comforted the king of Cochin, by first driving the garrison which the Samorin had left in Cochin from thence, and then bringing him back again to his capital in triumph.

This success, with what followed, gave the Portuguese admiral a good title to the king of Cochin's favour, and the use he made of it was, to procure leave to build a place for the security of his countrymen: For this purpose he chose an eminence, which commanded the fort and town, and being allowed timber, he soon finished the

fortress in the best manner the materials would permit. He also erected here a chapel; thus did the king of Cochin, insensibly contribute to introduce strangers to rule over himself and his neighbours.

Under the pretence of punishing those who had revolted from the king of Cochin, the Portuguese plundered all their towns and villages, and brought these countries under their own dominion. During these proceedings Don Alphonso Albuquerque arrived with an additional force: hereupon the king of Colan, a rich and powerful prince, whose capital was situated about 24 leagues south of Cochin, demanded the friendship and assistance of Portugal. This was instantly granted, and a factory settled there. Immediately after, the king of Zanzibar was obliged to submit, and the free city of Brava was forced to pay an annual tribute to Portugal. The king of Melinda also sought the alliance of the Portuguese against his neighbour the king of Mombasa, which occasioned the reduction of them both. These successes so terrified the Samorin, that he sued for peace in the most humble manner, and entered into such conditions as were satisfactory to the Portuguese. But not long after this peace was concluded, these, his new allies, took one of the Samorin's ships, richly laden, and tho' that prince had applied to Francis Albuquerque

querque for satisfaction, this gentleman, who now acted with absolute authority in the Indies, treated the ambassadors with contempt; hereby irritating that monarch to such a degree, that he meditated revenge upon the strangers, and determined to renew the war against the king of Cochin. Triumpara, for that was his name, had early intelligence of his design, and thereupon applied to the two Albuquerquees for assistance; but they could not be prevailed upon to leave him more than three ships, with 150 men, under the command of Edward Pacheco, a man of courage and resolution. After this, the two Albuquerquees sailed with a rich cargo for Europe. In their return, the eldest with all his crew perished, no-body knowing when or where; but Alphonso arrived safely at Lisbon, with all his ships, having acquired greater fame and riches, than any that had been employed on this occasion.

No sooner had the Portuguese fleet departed from India, than the Samorin raised an army of 60,000 men, with a large number of ships, to attack the king of Cochin; who, tho' again deserted by his subjects, behaved with his wonted firmness, disposed all things to the best advantage, and left the issue to providence. Pacheco gained great honour in this war; for by his conduct the Samorin, with all his vast preparations, obtained nothing but shame and confusion.

This danger being over, and a new fleet arriving from Portugal, Pacheco had a desire to return home. The king of Cochin gave him recommendatory letters, declaring how well he had behaved, and how much he was obliged to him for the security of his person and kingdom.

When he returned to Portugal, Don Emanuel received him with the highest honours; ordered the history of his exploits to be written by one of the most eloquent prelates in the kingdom, and bestowed on him one of the richest governments in Africa. To the magnanimity of this prince the wealth and glory of Portugal may justly be attributed. The great things his subjects had performed, tempted him to endeavour to extend his conquests, by driving the Mahometans out of the Indies; and being informed that they were possessed of three strong forts in the east, namely, Aden in Arabia, Ormuz on the coast of Persia, and Molucca near the streights of Sincapour; he judged it not impossible to make himself master of all these places by turns.

With this view he fitted out a larger fleet, than had ever yet been sent into those parts, consisting of 13 fighting ships, and six carvels, with a large number of soldiers on board; then made choice of Don Francis Count d'Abrantes to command it, with the title of Viceroy and governor-general of the Indies; assigning

assigning him guards, priests, &c. and every thing that might add to the grandeur of his office.

He sailed from Lisbon on Lady-day, 1505, and reached the Cape Verde islands about the middle of April; but stretching too far to the south from thence, in order to double the Cape with greater ease, ran so far, that many of his seamen had their fingers frozen; though by altering his course to the east, they arrived safe at Quiloa; where Abraham, king of that country, refused to pay his tribute. Hereupon the Viceroy took the kingdom from him, and put Mohammed Anconin in his room; and building there a fort, to keep the natives in awe, Don Francis proceeded to Mombaza, beat down the forts, and took the city by storm, making slaves of a good part of the inhabitants; and continuing his voyage to the Angedive islands, which lie not far from Goa, he there built a fort, and then sailed for Cananor; where, with the consent of the king, he erected another. On his arrival at Cochinchina, he found Triumpara's affairs in a very fluctuating condition; for the king, being worn out with age, had resigned the crown to his sister's youngest son, the elder having deserted him on the invasion of the Samorin; but the Viceroy soon put an end to these troubles, by firmly fixing the youngest on his

his uncle's throne, as he was most in the Portuguese interest.

Now the Viceroy sent a squadron of eight ships to make farther discoveries; by whom was found the island of Madagascar. Soon after, he detached another on the same service, commanded by his son Laurence, who sailed to the Maldivé islands, from whence he was driven by a great tempest to the island of Ceylon, where he imposed a tribute on the king. During this time the Viceroy, having beat the Calicutians by sea, divided his fleet into two parts; gave one part of it to Emanuel Pezagno, and the other to his son Francis Almeyda, upon his return from Ceylon.

The Portuguese admiral now established a rule, that whosoever came into these parts without a pass from him or the governor of some sort, should be deemed enemies, and their ships and cargo be confiscated; by which means the Portuguese engrossed all the wealth of the Indies to themselves; and, the better to support their Authority, Don Emanuel sent annually new reinforcements.

In 1508, fifteen ships were equipped, the command of which was given to Tristão de Cunha, who sailed to the coast of Zanguebar, and helped the king of Melinda against his rebellious subjects; then burning the cities of Hoia and Brava, proceeded to Zocotara, there reduced the chief town of the  
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the island, left in it a garrison, and made the best of his way to Malabar; where, having joined the fleet under the command of Almeyda, they jointly went against the people of Calicut, and totally defeated them. Soon after, near Bombay, they fell in with the fleet of Campson, Sultan of Egypt, which they intirely ruined; in this engagement the Viceroy's son was unfortunately slain by an arrow.

Now Alphonso Albuquerque arrived again in the east, with a strong squadron from Portugal, designing to subdue the isle of Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian gulph. In order to this, he first made himself master of all the cities lying on the coasts of Arabia, that were subject to the king of Ormuz; after which, beating the enemy in the port of that city, he landed in the island, with design to invest the place; when the king gave him leave to erect a fort near the sea, and agreed not only to pay an yearly tribute to the king of Portugal; but also to defray all the expences of the war. The time of Don Francis Almeyda count d'Abrantes's viceroyship being near expiring, he took a resolution to revenge his son's death; went out with a squadron of 19 sail, and attacked a combined fleet of Canbayans, Egyptians, and Calicutians, with other enemies of the Portuguese, by whose hands his son was slain. He defeated this  
fleet

fleet off Diu with great slaughter, and subdued all the coast from this place to Cochin; obliging the several princes to become tributary to Portugal: but his commission being now expired, he, with much reluctance, resigned his government to Albuquerque; and having weathered the Cape of Good Hope; in his passage to Lisbon, would needs go ashore himself in search of refreshments on the coast of Africa; where his attendants having some words with the natives, about the price; the whole country poured down, and instantly discharged a shower of arrows upon them; by which the Viceroy himself and twelve officers of experience, with all their attendants, were killed upon the spot.

He was succeeded in his command in the Indies by Alphonso Albuquerque, who tho' he had not the title of Viceroy, yet was his authority as extensive as that of his predecessor; and his administration was so extraordinary, that it acquired him the surname of Great. Fernand Contigno, grand marshal of Portugal, being now arrived with 15 sail, having 3000 men on board, to put Albuquerque in possession of the government, prevailed upon him to begin the exercise of his authority with the destruction of Calicut, which had been the cause of so much trouble. This expedition proved very honourable for the new general; but

but while Albuquerque took the citadel, and fired the town; the grand marshal got possession of the royal palace, and there finding vast riches, his soldiers fell to plundering; when the Indians, taking advantage of their disorder, cut them all off to a man. Albuquerque endeavouring to assist them, narrowly escaped with his own life; for in going to the palace, he received two wounds, and was almost crushed to pieces by a large stone flung from the top of the public buildings. His men carried him to the ship, and then made a good retreat, having lost in this enterprize, the grand marshal and eighty men, with about 3000 wounded.

When Albuquerque had recovered of his wounds, he assembled a powerful fleet, and a considerable number of land forces; among which were 2000 veteran Portuguese, who by long service were inured to the climate; with these he determined to reduce Ormuz: but when he was just upon the point of embarking, he received such intelligence from Goa, as obliged him to alter his design; Goa, being one of the best ports in the Indies, and the most important post on the coast of Malabar. This island is about ten miles in circumference, and was at that time subject to the king of Decan. The Governor's name was Idulcan, a Moor by birth, and a person of experience and resolution;

resolution; but notwithstanding the place was put into the best posture of defence possible, the Portuguese, assisted by the fleet and army of the king of Onor, reduced the whole island, and took the city of Goa by storm; into which Albuquerque made his public entry with great magnificence, and having settled every thing there, as well as he possibly could, he made his nephew, Antonio de Norogna, governor of the city, Gaspar de Payva director of the commerce, and Timoa, who was the king of Onor's general, had the charge of the revenues, which amounted to 82,000 pieces of gold per ann. Idulcan, however, returned some time after and recovered the place, and the new governor was slain in the dispute: but this served only to aggrandize the Portuguese nation, and to encrease the fame of Albuquerque, by securing a country and city of such consequence, which he afterwards accomplished. This city afterwards became the seat of the governor, and the see of an archbishop and primate of the Indies.

After the conquest of Goa, Albuquerque sailed with a great fleet to the road of Malacca, and demanded the Portuguese prisoners, which that king had in his hands. He put him off from day to day with fair promises. The general bore this treatment for some time; but at last was so provoked, that he set the town on fire; hereupon the

the king sent him the prisoners, and offered to make peace on his own terms; but these were so very hard, that the king refused to comply with them, and soon after hostilities began on both sides. Albuquerque attacked the city of Molucca with great resolution, which, after an obstinate resistance, he took by storm, and yielded up the plunder to his soldiers. The fifth part of the riches of this place was reserved to the king, and was bought on the spot by the merchants at 200,000 pieces of gold. Albuquerque immediately ordered a fort to be built, and put into it a good garrison, and gave the command of it to Rodriquez Patalino: he also made, one Utimut, an Indian lord, who had deserted from the king of Molucca, and been very serviceable to him, supreme magistrate of the Indians and Mahometans; and, having now received the compliments of the Indian princes on his victory, he was about to embark for Goa; when a conspiracy was discovered, in which Utimut was the principal, intending to make himself master of the place. The fact was proved clearly against him by his letters, and the general ordered him and his son to be executed, notwithstanding his great age, and an offer of 100,000 pieces of gold to save their lives. He staid at Molucca about a year after, then proceeded for the coast of Malabar. In this passage he met

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with

with a violent storm, which destroyed the greatest part of his ships, with all their riches, and it was with much difficulty that he escaped. This storm happened off the island of Sumatra, by which the general found a new method of raising his reputation. The ship he was in striking upon a rock, the crew hurried him into the long-boat, and as they were putting off from the wreck, the general saw a young man fall from the mast into the sea, not far from his boat. He instantly jumped out into the sea, caught him in his arms, and saved his life, at the hazard of his own.

After a short stay at Cochin he proceeded to Goa, where he found things in some confusion; but soon put them into order, and humbled the Indians to such a degree, that the Samorin himself sent ambassadors to sue for peace, and to offer him permission to erect a fortress at Calicut. The emperor of Ethiopia also sent an ambassador to Goa, and from thence to Portugal. Idukan likewise, and the princes who had the most opposed the settlement of the Portuguese in the Indies, seemed now very willing to make ample satisfaction for their indiscretion, by proposing to accept of such terms of peace as Don Alphonso Albuquerque should prescribe. Such a series of successes was enough to have turned the brain of a man of less abilities than this general; and it evidently

dently appears, that the Portuguese were more indebted for their conquests to his capacity, than to all their fleets and armies.

When this hero had made himself master of Goa, and Molucca, he resolved to conquer Ormuz. The king of it was young, weak, and timorous, but intirely governed by an old cunning minister; who, to secure the management of affairs to his own family, brought three of his nephews to the court, and gave them considerable posts in the government, and in the army. The youngest of these, named Hamed, had by his intrigues gained such power, that neither the king, nor his uncle, had any more left, than the mere shadow of authority. Don Alphonso being informed of this, raised an army, and gave out, that his intention was to attack Aden; but when at sea, he directed his course to Ormuz on the coast of Persia, where he demanded that the citadel should be immediately delivered up to him, that Portuguese should be put into the place, and that the king should acknowledge himself dependant on the crown of Portugal: he, thinking it better to be the vassal of a foreign prince, than the slave of a minister, admitted the general into the citadel, assigned some of the best houses for their factory, and ordered the Portuguese flag to be displayed on the palace.

On this unexpected change Hamed formed a design against the general's life, of which, Don Alphonso being informed, he gave orders to some of his soldiers to destroy him, which they instantly performed, without ceremony. If Albuquerque had stopped here all had been well; but his projects were such, as not to be bounded by any thing, unless it was the absolute possession of his ambitious pretences; for this reason, he insisted, there was a large fleet coming from Egypt to dispossess him; thereupon he demanded all the artillery of the place, which he said was necessary for the preservation of it from the enemy.

The cowardice of the king over-ruled his council in this affair, so the artillery was sent on board for the present service, which the general would never restore; but having made Pedro Albuquerque governor of the citadel, he seized 15 princes of the blood, with their wives and children, and carried them to Goa, that he might have sufficient hostages for their behaviour. In this manner Ormuz was made subject to the Portuguese.

Some little time before Albuquerque returned to Goa, he received a grand embassy from the king of Persia, who, thought himself in danger, and resolving to prevent it if he could, offered his friendship, to the general. The ambassador was received with  
all



all the respect due to a great prince. He was entertained at the public expence with the utmost magnificence. The general likewise made the Persian monarch such presents as were not expected; for he sent him some fine pieces of brass cannon, and other utensils of war, with able engineers to use them. This he did for two reasons; first to secure that monarch's interest in the affairs of Portugal; and next, because he well knew, the advantages which the Turks had gained over the Persians were intirely owing to the latter's want of artillery. Besides, Albuquerque was an able politician, and very sensible, that to keep these two great empires on an equality, would be very serviceable to his purpose. But alas! such is the frail state of human nature; this great man, who had formed vast enterprizes, soon after his arrival at Goa, was seized with an illness, which carried him off in a few Days. However, he so firmly established the Portuguese empire in the Indies, that he saw no probability of that trade's being diverted into another channel.

The death of this excellent commander, tho' at the age of 63, would have proved of much greater inconvenience to the Portuguese affairs, had not his successor been then at Cochin, with a fleet of ten sail, which he had just brought from Portugal. This Person's name was Lopez Suarez, who

no sooner entered upon his administration, than the people of Aden sent ambassadors to let him know they were ready to comply with his demands; but he took no notice of their submission; for having a design upon the Egyptian fleet, he, to keep his men employed till their arrival, attacked a little town called Zeila, over against Aden, and gave the plunder to his people; But Suarez soon after repented of his behaviour to the Aden officers; for the Egyptian fleet never came, and that city resolved not to submit to Portugal; and soon after the Portuguese affairs began to be but in an indifferent state, and the new forts lately finished at Ceylon, and in the kingdom of Coulan, were found scarcely sufficient to keep the inhabitants to their duty; hereupon Saurez was thought unequal to so great a charge, and James Lopez was appointed his successor.

On his arrival, he quelled some insurrections, and afterwards defeated the king of Bintam; then repaired to Ormuz, and overcame the king of Boharim, an island in the Persian gulph. Lopez was succeeded by Edward de Meneses, who reinstated the king of Pacem in the island of Sumatra, on condition of paying a tribute, and giving him leave to build a fort on that coast. In the first year of this Viceroy's administration Emanuel king of Portugal died, who was the greatest prince that ever sat upon that throne,

throne; who, not only subdued the coasts of India, on both sides the Ganges; but of the gulph of Persia, and of the Red-Sea: who shut up the navigation of those countries from all others, and intirely excluded the Venetians from that trade, which her merchants had for some centuries wholly engrossed.

He was succeeded by John III. his son, about which time the Viceroy of India ordered Lewis de Meneses, with a strong squadron, to keep the people of Ormuz in subjection; and sent Henriquez with another to the east, to make farther conquests; this latter sailed round the islands of Bando, Mira, and Gumanapy, and from thence proceeded to Tidore, where he met with one of the ships which belonged to Magellan's squadron. Henriquez attacked this ship, took it, and put to death, or made slaves of, all the Spaniards. This done, he built a fort in the island of Ternate, and enjoined the natives not to sell their spices to any other but Portuguese.

The following year Hector Silveria was made admiral of the Indies, and was joyfully received by the Viceroy at Goa. He then sailed to Molucca, which was at that time besieged by the king of Bintam's admiral, whom he obliged to raise the siege, and then sent a detachment to the coast of Bintam, under the command of Alonso de Sousa, who ravaged all the country along,  
and

and afterwards gained a great victory over the ships of Pahang, Patana, and Java, killing great numbers, and taking many prisoners. From hence he proceeded to Machian and Bachian, two of the Molucca islands, plundered them, and took away great riches. The next year Vasquez de Gama, was made Viceroy of the Indies; but he being very old, a commission was made out at the same time for Henry de Meneses to be his successor, in case he should die; and a third commission was given to Pedro Mascarenbas, in case of the deaths of the two former; also a fourth to Lopez Sampayo, if he should happen to be the survivor. Gama, having defeated the Calicutians in a sea engagement, died soon after, and Meneses governed in his stead; whose administration likewise did not last long: for after several engagements, which were attended with various successes; he went to the relief of his countrymen, who were besieged in the Fort of Calicut, which he performed; but soon after died of a wound that he received in his leg by an arrow, in the action.

As soon as the news of Meneses's death arrived at Goa, all the great officers met to open the instruments, by which the next successor was appointed, and finding the viceroyalty devolved upon Pedro Mascarenbas, who was then at Molucca: one of the  
officers

officers present on this occasion, said, that the true intent and meaning of these substitutions, was, that the government in the Indies should never be without a head, and that an absent head was in effect no head; for which reason he proposed opening another packet to appoint a Viceroy, till he should return from the Moluccas; he pressed this so earnestly, that the whole assembly at length agreed to it, and the packet being opened, Lopez de Sampayo, the fourth substituted Viceroy, entered upon that great charge; and gave the Malabarians a total defeat: but Don Pedro highly resenting his usurpation, assumed to himself the title and office of Viceroy; and with a fleet of 19 sail repaired to the coast of Bintam, where he gained a signal victory over Laqueximenes, the enemies admiral, took the city of Bintam by storm, sacked, and burnt it.

The king died with grief for this his ill fortune, and Mascarenbas appointed him a successor; then proceeded to Goa, where he summoned a number of arbitrators to judge whether he or Sampayo was Viceroy. The latter refused to submit to an arbitration; and contrary to reason and justice imprisoned Mascarenbas, imagining that such treatment would put an end to the dispute; but this violence, instead of lessening, increased the interest of Don Pedro, and Sampayo

Sampayo was obliged to submit to the decision of 13 judges.

In the interim a fresh squadron arrived from Portugal with a fresh cargo of commissions ; and a peremptory order, that such of the old ones that were unopened should be sent back ; and the Viceroyship should be determined by the new commissions ; the first of which, at the instigation of Alphonso Mexias, the first cause of all these troubles, was opened, and proved in favour of Lopez, who was hereupon declared Viceroy, and Mascarenbas ordered to return to Portugal. On his return to Lisbon, he laid the whole affair before the king ; who, after having thoroughly examined the case, decided it with great justice and wisdom. He decreed, that Lopez the present Viceroy should pay to Don Pedro 20,000 crowns, the profits of his two years government ; and made a regulation for the future to this effect ; that on opening the bills of substitution, the absence of the party nominated should not prejudice him, provided such person was in any part of the Indies, between Cape Lori and Diu.

As soon as the king's orders arrived, Don Lopez executed them in every respect, reconciled himself to the adherents of Mascarenbas, and behaved as a good subject. But when these commotions were stilled, fresh troubles arose.

Henry.

Henry Garcias at that juncture being governor of the Moluccas, finding things embarrassed by the wars made by his predecessors against the king of Tidor; on his entrance upon that government, thought it prudence to make peace with the king of the island, called Almanfor; provided he would agree to restore the artillery, with the prisoners he had taken from the Portuguese, which he promised should be done in six months. But the posture of affairs altering soon after, Garcias resolved to renew the war. In order to this, he sent to demand the cannon and prisoners before the time limited was expired. Almanfor, having lent the cannon to a neighbouring prince, could not deliver them before they were brought back, and being at this time very ill, having no suspicion of the governor's design, he desired him to send a physician, in whose advice he might confide, for the recovery of his health. Garcias accordingly sent one who villainously poisoned him. He then made a descent upon the island, besieged the capital, took it, plundered it, and used the inhabitants very cruelly.

This event happening in a time of peace, and without the least provocation, caused an implacable hatred to the Portuguese among the people of that island, and of all the Moluccas. Soon after a fleet of the emperor Charles V. arriving there, the people of Tidor

Tidor received them kindly, and suffered them to raise works for the defence of their port; and the Spanish admiral alledged, that the Moluccas belonged of right to them, being first discovered by Magellan, who had a commission from the king of Spain; that the dispute was put to arbitration, and had been determined in their favour. The Portuguese, under the command of Henriquez, asserted, that they were first discovered by Anthony Abreu, ten years before the voyage of Magellan, and that the unjust sentence of the Castilian arbitration had been long reversed in Portugal: but the emperor, being engaged in other wars in Europe, neglected so remote a conquest, and yielded up his right to the king of Portugal for the sum of 350,000 ducats.\*

When matters were all settled in the Moluccas, the Viceroy Sampayo sent John Deza with a Squadron to cruise off Cananor, and Alphonsus Melia with another to the Sunda islands, who, having doubled Cape Camorin, met with some deputies coming to Goa from the prince of Calecura, to offer tribute and submission for assistance against his enemies the Calcutians. Deza took all the ships that passed between Calicut and Cambaya, and landing at Mangador, he plundered it, and set it on fire,

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\* See Sir William Monson's naval tracts.

after



after which he defeated the admiral of Calicut, and took him prisoner. At the same time Anthony Miranda sailed to the Red Sea, and took great numbers of Arabian ships. Sampayo himself destroyed the most part of a fleet of 130 sail of Moorish ships, bound to Mecca with spices, then proceeded to Porca, took the town, and forced the prince thereof to fly; who left behind him such vast treasure, that the lowest seaman's share amounted to 1000 dollars. From hence he sailed north, and soon discovered a fleet of the enemies, commanded by the admiral of Cambaya, whom he immediately engaged, and intirely routed; then committed his fleet to the care of Miranda; who soon after came to a battle with the Malabarians, and gave them a signal defeat, carrying off a rich booty in spices to Cochin. After this he defeated the Cambayan admiral again; then reduced the town of Tanor, and made the prince of the country a tributary to the crown of Portugal.

Thus did they carry every thing before them in India, during the reign of John III. But this wise prince dying, he was succeeded by Sebastian, an infant, and their affairs began to take another turn, both in Europe and in the East. This prince growing up, made an expedition against the emperor of Morocco, and embarking with a numerous army, and a large fleet, wherein was the

flower of the Portuguese nobility; he landed at Tangier; and unadvisedly marching up the country, gave battle to the Moors, where he, with his whole army, was destroyed. To him his uncle Henry succeeded, in whose reign nothing remarkable occurred but disputes about a successor. Philip II. of Spain having some pretensions to the crown, resolved to decide this controversy by dint of arms, drove Antonio, the natural son of John III. whom the Portuguese intended to place upon the throne, out of the kingdom; and all the territories of that crown fell into the hands of the conqueror, except the Azores, which were at last subdued to Spain.

As a Castilian king was both odious and irksome to the Portuguese, so was it fatal to their Interests; for upon the first rupture of the Netherlands, he deprived them of their trade with Spain and Portugal, and in these days the Dutch ships made no longer voyages for their India commodities. The prohibition of this commerce had very bad consequences. Those who were vested with authority in the Indies now made use of it to their own private purposes, and the Dutch finding an absolute stop put to the advantageous trade in India goods, which they had hitherto bought in the ports of Spain and Portugal, resolved, if possible, to fetch them from the Indies themselves; whereas, had they been allowed to purchase them as usual, the commerce of

of India had continued in its old channel, without envy or disturbance.

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## C H A P. II.

*An account of the most important discoveries and settlements of the Portuguese in the East-Indies ; and how they lost them.*

THE Portuguese, at their first coming into these parts, fell upon the coast of Malabar, and hereby acquired the happiest station that could be thought of, for extending their commerce and conquests both ways; and there is reason to believe, that the fixing the seat of their empire, as near as possible to the centre of this coast, was one principal inducement to their seizing Goa in the manner aforementioned, as it greatly contributed to the preservation of their dominions. It stands at an equal distance from Cape Comorin and Surat; but is so barren, that it produces nothing fit for the sustenance of man or beast, except a few fruits in the gardens, and a little grass for goats and lambs; tho' they are so plentifully furnished with provisions from the neighbouring islands and continent, that a hog is often sold for less than a crown; and in the time of the Dutch blockade, six sucking pigs, ten pullets, and eight wild ducks, were sold for the same

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price:

price : but beef and mutton are here a rarity.

Here is a fountain representing Lucretia, from whose wound issues out fresh water which supplies the whole city. The inhabitants are of two sorts, either Castizes, or Mestizes; the first are born of Portuguese parents; the last are begotten by a Portuguese on an Indian; inclining to an olive colour, and in the third generation are black as the natives; which is also observeable in the fourth generation of the Mestizes, tho' there is not the least mixture among them. The merchants or tradesmen appear like gentlemen, there being scarce any here, taylor and shoemakers excepted, but what are served by slaves. No person of quality ever goes on foot; but on horseback, in a litter, or gondola; having one slave attending him with an umbrella.

The Portuguese have been always accounted a proud nation, but those at Goa are so to excess. The prevailing distempers here are what they call the Mordeain, which kills without delay, besides fevers, and the bloody flux, the only remedy against which is bleeding. The plague is not known here; but the pox destroys a great number, especially among the Portuguese; for tho' the country furnishes them with remedies against this distemper, yet the inclinations between the sexes are so violent here, that they wont afford

afford themselves time for the cure of it. The women here have an excessive inclination for white men, and tho' they are kept under great restraint, they will strive hard to gain their ends. To accomplish this, they frequently stupify their husbands with the juice or powder of an herb called datula, which they mix either in preserves, or in their drink, which intirely deprives them of all sense for 24 hours.

The Portuguese or Mestize women are scarce ever seen to walk in the streets; but are carried in litters, and so closely guarded, that it is impossible to speak to them. They appear abroad in velvets, silks and jewels, tho' they go at home in their hair only; with nothing over them but a calicoe smock, reaching down to the navel, and a painted calicoe petticoat.

The port of Goa is certainly one of the safest and most commodious in the world. In the city of Goa are many stately edifices, such as the Viceroy's, archbishop's, and inquisitor-general's palaces; but above all the churches, which are very numerous, and most of them very rich. The fortifications round it are well furnished with cannon, which have hitherto made it impregnable; tho' it has been pressed hard, both by the Indians, and the Dutch. It was from this city that the Portuguese made their discoveries, and sent most of their colonies.

We shall next proceed to describe the Maldives, which extend from eight degrees north latitude to four deg. south, stretching near 200 leagues, tho' not above 35 broad in any part of the Archipelago. They consist of a vast number of islands, and were discovered by admiral Suarez, who demanded leave to erect a fort upon the island of Male, which is the largest; and whose capital, of the same name, is the residence of their monarch. One John Gomez was sent thither for this purpose, who built the fort, which was no sooner finished, than the Mahometans formed a conspiracy against him, cut off him and all his people, levelling the fort with the ground.

A great part of these islands are uninhabited, producing only trees and grass, others are only a moveable sand, and some are overflowed at high water. The rest are covered over with large crabs, cray-fish, and penguins, so that you cannot place a foot without treading on their eggs, their young ones, or upon the old birds themselves, which are not afraid of man. These islands are divided into 13 provinces, called Attalons. Both rich and poor are inured to the sea from their infancy, fearing not to encounter the most boisterous seas, and all swim admirably well. Of the channels that part the Attalons, there are only four broad ones, which are navigable by great ships, and are

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often

often visited by strangers, when the currents carry them in against their will. To begin on the north side, the first of these four broad channels washes Melos: the second has Male, the biggest of all these islands in the midst of it: the third lies to the south of Male, directly under the equinoctial, being 20 leagues over. Besides these, there is a narrow channel, which separates Male and Pouliftou, in which the sea appears black as ink; but when the water is put into a vessel, it looks like common water. This sea boils like water over a fire, and swells into great surges, but is not moved from one side to the other, which makes it very terrible.

The Maldivans who live about Male, and between it and the north Cape, are more civilized than those of the south coast, who are not only blacker, but much coarser, and many of their poor of both sexes go naked. In general the Maldivans are very ingenious, and apply themselves with great industry to all sorts of manufactures, to letters and sciences. They are brave, well skilled in arms, and their policy is regular.

The women are very handsome, abating for their olive colour; and some of them are white as Europeans. Their hair is black, which they reckon a great ornament, and in order to turn it extremely black, several women keep their daughters heads shaved till they are nine or ten years old. Both sexes

sexes affect black hair, and the women take a pride in having it thick and long. They wash their hair often, and are obliged to do it on Fridays, which is the woman's sabbath, and the men's festival.

As for the men, none but gentlemen, and the king's officers and soldiers, are suffered to wear their hair long. These, indeed, wash, perfume, and dress their hair as much as the women. Their hair grows faster than ours, on account of the excessive heat of the climate. They have no combs, but have scissars of cast copper, and their looking-glasses are made of polished copper, which they use to shave themselves, with steel razors, made in a different fashion to ours. There are no barbers, every one shaves himself, excepting the king and lords, who are shaved by persons that are proud of that honour, without any prospect of gain.

The Maldives produce great plenty of millet, and another little grain called brindy, which resembles millet, but is black as rape-feed. They sow these two grains twice a year, of which, when ground into meal, they make pottage, with milk, cocoa, and honey; also pancakes, and fritters. The country likewise produces various kinds of roots, which the inhabitants feed upon. As for fruit, they have plenty of citrons, pomegranates, oranges and figs; but their most profitable fruit, is the cocoa, which is more plentiful



plentiful here than in any other part of the world.

They are much incommoded with rats, and other sorts of vermin ; such as polecats, ferrets, &c. but have no great beasts, either wild or tame, save a few sheep, and 3 or 400 cows and bulls in the island of Male.— They have prodigious numbers of wild pullets, which are sold for a penny a piece, and the same money will fetch three dozen of eggs. They have also plenty of wild pigeons, ducks, rayls, &c. As for domestic fowl they have none. The crows here are very troublesome, and so numerous and bold, as to take things out of their houses before their faces.

The sea affords plenty of fish, and the fishery is the most constant exercise of the natives, who feed mostly upon them; besides, they send every day ships loaded with fish to Sumatra, Achen, and other places. Many of these fishermen have lost arms and legs, which were bit off by a great fish that is common in these seas. This great plenty of provisions of all kinds occasions their cheapness : 400 cocoas cost but eight-pence, and the same money will purchase 500 bananas, a dozen of fowls, 300 weight of roots, or 100 large fish. In short, there is no part of the Indies, where a stranger can make his fortune so soon as here ; for it lies  
conve-

convenient for trade, and requires but little charge for maintenance.

The next settlement of the Portuguese was the noble island of Ceylon, called by the inhabitants Lamca, which in their language signifies the Terrestrial Paradise. Here the Portuguese settled, under the conduct of Lawrence Almeyda, who erected a column, testifying, that he took possession of that country on behalf of Emanuel king of Portugal. Having built a fort there, he afterwards obtained an absolute power over the greatest part of this island, which is by many accounted the largest; and by all, in itself, the richest and finest island in the world. The Portuguese held their establishments here about 150 years, when the Dutch made themselves masters of this valuable place, of which we shall give a particular description in our account of the Dutch settlements in the East Indies.

The Portuguese came to the island of Sumatra in 1508, under the command of Don Lopez de Seguirá. They found it very rich and fruitful, and governed by several petty princes, who were always at war with each other, which gave the Portuguese a fair opportunity of bringing the whole under their subjection: but it happened otherwise; for these people, being well acquainted with the art of war by their continual disputes, prevented them from making  
any

any considerable incursions, and obliged them to be contented with a few settlements on the coast; where they carried on a beneficial trade for many years. In less than a century after, as the power of the Dutch increased in these parts, they began, according to their usual practice, to infest this island, with design to exclude all other nations; but the inhabitants soon shook off their yoke, and in a great degree still preserve their freedom; for which reason, these people, very probably, are called the most cruel and perfidious in the Indies, by almost all European writers: it will be proper therefore, in his place, to give the reader an account of this country, and its inhabitants.

The island of Sumatra is larger than Great Britain, being in length about 300 leagues, and 70 in breadth. The coast for the most part lies low, tho' there are high mountains in the country. The valleys afford good pasture, rice, and all other fruits. It has many noble rivers, and an infinite number of brooks, by which it is rendered very moist, and in some places marshy. It is also subject to frequent rains, for the equinoctial cuts it thro' the middle.

It bears very large trees, which are always green, and the air is unhealthy to strangers, especially near the line. The city of Achen, situate on the north point, is more temperate. It stands upon a river, about half a league from

from the sea, in the midst of a great valley, 60 leagues broad; and contains more than 7000 houses, which are not contiguous; each house being surrounded by a Palisadoe, which stands some distance from it. There are indeed some streets where the markets are kept, and where foreigners inhabit, who chuse to be near each other, to defend themselves from thieves; robberies being here very frequent. Most of the houses are built upon pillars ten feet high, the waters often overflowing the streets, especially in the rainy season. The houses are built of cane and bamboo, and floored with the same; but every one has a stone vault, to secure his treasure and valuable effects, in case of fire. Their mosques, or mahometan chapels, are built of stone; but are small, tho' very numerous. The soil is very fit for all sorts of grain and fruit; but they sow nothing more than rice, which, with cocoas, is the chief food of the people in this island; and of these they have abundance. There is not a month in the year without some ripe fruit. They sow no pulse or pot-herbs, but they have abundance of buffaloes, which they employ in drawing and carrying. They have plenty of young kids, and horses of a small breed, but their sheep are good for nothing. The peasants breed up a vast many hens and ducks, for the sake of their eggs. They take delight in hunting, and have a great

great number of wild boars, tho' not so large and fierce, says our author, as those in France; yet, are their stags and does much larger. They have few roebucks, or hares, except in the woods; and at the foot of great mountains there are many wild elephants. Upon the uninhabited hills are tygers, rhinoceroes, porcupines, wild buffaloes, civet-cats, monkeys, adders, lizards, and crocodiles.

More than one half of this island is subject to the king of Achen, the other part is possessed by many lords, who are always at variance; but if they were all united, are not a match for the king of Achen. That part of the coast extending to the streights of Sunda is woody and uninhabited, but subject to the king of Bantam. The inhabitants of the whole coast of Sumatra are Malayans, and all understand that language. The inland parts of this island speak a different language, and are under the government of several petty kings, of whom, the richest, and consequently the most powerful, is one who resides between Ticow and Manimcabo, who is possessed of all the places where the gold of this island is found.

It is very evident that there is a great deal of gold in this island, tho' the inhabitants know not how to work the mines; but content themselves with what they can procure from the torrents which pour down the sides of mountains, and from little pits that they dig at the bottom of those places where these

currents discharge themselves. This gold they barter for cotton-cloth, for pepper, salt, and steel. They have no dealings with strangers, but murder and *eat them*\*, says our author.

The pepper plant is of as much advantage to this island as their gold; no country having it in so great plenty. These plantations lie on the west side of the mountains, a chain of which runs the whole length of the island, from the north west to the south east; but scarce any of them within twenty miles of the English settlements, to which the pepper is brought down in boats. The time of gathering of it is about Michaelmas, and they have another small crop in March; tho' in dry seasons they are obliged to water it.

The natives are of a moderate stature, of swarthy complexions, seldom corpulent; and have black hair, and black eyes, flat faces and high cheek-bones. They take great pains to dye their teeth black, and rub themselves all over with oil, which smells very strong, and let some of their nails of the left hand grow as long as their fingers, scraping them till they are transparent, and dying

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\* *This is asserted in commodore Beaulieu's expedition to the East Indies, written by himself and published in Mr. Thevenot's collection of voyages; but the world we imagine is now pretty well satisfied there is no nation of cannibals.*

them

them with vermillion. About their heads, they usually tie a piece of blew, or white linen, or wear a cap like the crown of a hat. The better sort wear drawers, and a piece of callico, or silk about their loins, and thrown over the left shoulder. They wear sandals on their feet in town, but usually travel barefoot.

The genius of these people is not much admired; being a proud and indolent generation, who will take no pains to improve themselves in arts and sciences, or in husbandry; letting great part of the country lie uncultivated, and their manufactures are neglected.

The Mahometan religion is professed at Achen, and upon all the coast of Sumatra\*; where the chief priest resides, and has a

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\* The revenue of the island of Sumatra, whilst it was in the hands of the Portuguese for above 150 years, was annually conveyed to Goa on board a galleon, maintained at the expence of the crown of Portugal for that purpose; which was thus provided: the officers were, a captain, purser, master, pilot, boatswain, and steward: the men on board were, two gunners, four European seamen, 20 soldiers, and 40 common mariners of the Indies, with a provost marshal: for the maintenance of whom, the king of Portugal allowed annually 986,962 reys; which is about 616l. 17 s. 1 d. as appears from an account of the produce the Portuguese received from their settlements in the East Indies, published by Don Edward de Meneses, who was Viceroy there in 1584.

great influence on affairs of state, but the people are not such bigotted zealots, as they are in some other countries. The marriage contracts are made before some priest, they are also judges in cases of divorce, as well as in all civil cases. The priests also assist at their funeral rites, as in other Mahometan states.

The principal English settlement on this coast is called Bencoolen, of which we shall give a particular description, in our account of the intercourse between the inhabitants of Great Britain, and the people in the East Indies; as also a compleat history of the East India company, from its first establishment under Queen Elizabeth, down to the present reign.

The Moluccas, or spice islands, were discovered accidentally by the Portuguese in the year 1511. Francis Serrano and Diego d'Abreu, being sent out to make new discoveries, were seperated by a storm; the former was driven to Ternate, and the latter discovered the island of Amboyna, and afterwards that of Banda \*. They spent about eight years in these discoveries, and Serrano lost his life in returning home. These va-

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\* *We are indebted to a Portuguese, named Argensola, for the genuine history of these valuable islands.*



luable islands are, strictly speaking, no more than five in number, and it is supposed they received their names from the original language of the inhabitants, as they all lie within the compass of 25 leagues.

These islands are famous for producing several sorts of valuable spices, and are governed by three kings. Their coasts are very dangerous, because of sands and shelves; and the Mahometans had begun to settle in them, a little time before they were discovered by the Portuguese.

Ternate, says this author, is eight leagues in circumference; the land high. They have good water, but are scarce of provisions, having few cattle except goats. Their principal treasure consists of cloves. They have also parrots far exceeding those of the West Indies in talking, and many birds of Paradise. The king of his island, says Mr. Argensola, was the most powerful of all, and boasted of a divine original, which the silly people firmly believed. This mighty prince's name was Cachilbabu, who allowed the Dutch to trade here in the year 1599, and entered into a strict friendship with them. Hereupon they assisted him to shake off the yoke of the Spaniards and Portuguese, and he was victorious over them at Tidor. The place where he resided was called Gammalamma, situate on the coast, chiefly consisting of one street, the houses being built

of wood and cane, about a league from which is a town called Mallaya, inclosed with walls of stone without mortar, where there are still some remains of the churches and other edifices erected by the Portuguese.

Tidor is much bigger than Ternate, but produces the same fruits. Here the Dutch attacked the Spaniards in 1607, and at length took the place by the assistance of the king of Ternate, who allowed them to settle an harbour about a stone's throw from the shore, which is very strong by nature, and improved by art. Of this harbour, and the Moluccas in general, we shall give a fuller account hereafter, in setting forth the rise, progress, &c. of the Dutch East India company.

Bouro was formerly subject to the king of Ternate, and while in the hands of the Portuguese was more considerable than it is at present: but the island they chiefly depended upon, was Timor, which is so exceeding fertile, that it supplies most of the Moluccas with provisions. West from hence lies the island of Solar, in which was a strong fort, where the Portuguese garison held out a siege of two months against the Dutch fleet and army. There are many other islands, commonly called the Moluccas, because they make that word synonymous with the spice islands; whereas there are, strictly speaking, no more than five in the whole.

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The Viceroy López Suarez, who succeeded Don Alphonso de Albuquerque, was the first who thought of establishing a commerce with China; who, in the year 1517, sent Ferdinand Andrada with eight ships laden with merchandize, and Thomas Perera, under the character of Ambassador of Emanuel king of Portugal. On their arrival at the mouth of the river of Canton, the ships were stopped, and two only suffered to proceed forwards. On board one of these were the ambassador and commodore Andrada, who was a person of quality and strict honour, and soon gained esteem among the Chinese, notwithstanding their natural aversion to strangers: but what had the best effect of all, and might have established the commerce of the Portuguese here, exclusive of all other European nations, was, his giving notice a little before his departure, that if any body had demands upon him, or any that belonged to him, they might come and receive their respective demands, ere he left the river.

This is what seemed new to the Chinese, and withal so agreeable, that they assured the commodore, they would willingly trade with his nation, in hopes of the same usage. But this fair prospect did not last long, and as this was the first, it had very near been the last voyage the Portuguese made hither: for the captains of the ships, who were left at anchor

anchor in the mouth of the river, fell into trade with the natives, and presuming on their power, landed several pieces of cannon, took what goods they pleased, and at what prices they thought fit, committing other outrages; such as ravishing women, trading with pirates for their prisoners, and making them slaves. The Viceroy of the province soon assembled a considerable naval force, with which he surrounded the Portuguese, and had certainly taken every ship, if a storm had not arose, which dispersed the Chinese fleet, and gave the Portuguese an opportunity of returning to Molucca with more wealth than honour. The ambassador, Thomas Perera, tho' perfectly unconcerned, suffered for his countrymen's bad conduct. The Chinese court being informed of what had happened before his arrival; first refused him audience, and then sent him to Canton in chains, where he was put into prison among the vilest criminals, and there continued several years, till, at length, he died in such miserable circumstances, that he had not wherewith to bury him.

After this the Chinese would not suffer the Portuguese to trade with them for a considerable time; but at last, being hard pressed by a noted pirate, who made himself master of the island of Macao, thereby blocking up the port of Canton, and afterwards laying siege to the city; the Mandarins applied

plied to the Portuguese for assistance, whose ships were then at the island of Sanchan: they soon forced the pirate, whose name was Tchang Si Lao, not only to raise the siege, but pursued him to Macao, and there killed him.

The Viceroy having informed the emperor of this extraordinary piece of service, he, out of gratitude, published an edict, by which he granted the Portuguese the island of Macao, where they built a good town, and fortified it after the European manner. The possession of this place has been very beneficial to them; for from hence they carried on for many years a very considerable commerce with Japan, by which Macao became one of the richest places in the Indies, and many of the nobility of Portugal chose to settle here, where they acquired vast estates by trade, and lived in great splendor. In the year 1639 the Portuguese sent from Macao two large ships laden with merchandise, which anchored in the road of Nagasaki. On their arrival, notice was sent in form to the commodore; that the emperor of Japan, by his edict, had prohibited the natives from all commerce with the Portuguese, for the following reasons: first, because they brought over missionaries into his dominions. Secondly, because they supplied those that were there with money and other necessaries; and, thirdly, because there was just

just cause to suspect, they had some concern in the late rebellion of the Christians in Arima. At the same time a copy of this edict was delivered to them, which they were ordered to publish at Macao, to inform the inhabitants of that city, that these were the last ships, that should be suffered to anchor in any port of Japan, and to be assured, if they ever came thither again, they should be put to death without mercy.

It has been doubted whether the Portuguese ever had any other settlement in China, excepting Macao: but a late author, one Alexander Hamilton, sets us clear in this point: he says, and we believe it to be true, “ That the Portuguese were once well  
“ settled at Liampo, and there had a nu-  
“ merous colony, consisting of 1000 families,  
“ who where governed by their own laws.  
“ Their trade thro’ China and Japan, which  
“ they carried in shipping to India and  
“ China, made them excessively rich, and  
“ threw them into luxury and debauchery;  
“ ry; and, at length, was the cause of their  
“ expulsion. They ravished their women;  
“ would go into the villages and carry off  
“ young virgins by violence, without redress;  
“ and when they had abused them as  
“ long as they thought fit, send them back  
“ to their friends. At length a parcel of  
“ these virgin-hunters being up in the country  
“ try on an expedition of this nature, the  
“ peasants

“peasants fell upon them, and destroyed  
“them all to a man. The Portuguese  
“complained loudly of this slaughter, and  
“desired their case might be laid before the  
“emperor. This was accordingly done,  
“and they were ordered to clear themselves;  
“but, not being able to defend their cause,  
“were banished Limpoa; having liberty to  
“carry off their effects. Thus ended the  
“most opulent colony, at that time, in the  
“world.”

When they returned to Macao, and gave information of these facts, the whole city was struck with consternation; being well assured, that the loss of this trade would prove the ruin of that place. To prevent this, they resolved to make one vigorous effort, and send a solemn embassy to justify their conduct, and to get the edict set aside, or at least to procure leave to send some ships thither as usual. The difficulty was to find proper persons who would engage in so dangerous an enterprize. At length three persons offered themselves for this service; namely, Don Lewis Paez Pacheco, who had served with honour in the armies, and was now 78 years of age; Don Roderic de Paredez; and Don Simon de Pavia; all persons of distinction, and moved with nothing but the desire of doing service to their country. On their arrival at Nagasacki, they sent an account of the nature of their  
commission

commission to the Japanese governors, who seized their ship immediately, with the ambassadors, and all the crew, except eight negro seamen, and sent them prisoners to the island of Kisma, till the emperor's pleasure should be known. On the return of the courier they were summoned before the magistrates, and treated as criminals, for having presumed to come thither in direct breach of the emperor's edict; so they were all bound, and sent back to prison.

The next day they were conducted before the magistrates a second time, when they were told it was his imperial majesty's pleasure, that they should be all put to death except 13, which sentence was executed the same evening. The next morning, before day, the governor sent for the thirteen remaining, enquiring of them whether they had seen their ship burnt; and whether they would faithfully report at Macao, what they were by the emperor commanded; being answered in the affirmative, they proceeded as follows: "You are to inform your fellow-citizens, that henceforwards, the subjects of Japan will not receive either money, merchandize or presents, from them, for the future. You see we have burned the very cloaths of them who were executed yesterday. Let your people use any of ours that fall in their way in the same manner, we consent to it. Think of us no more,

as



“ as if there was not such a nation in the  
“ world as the Japanese.”

They then led these seamen to the place where the heads of those who were executed were fixed upon poles in three rows; the four ambassadors first; the Europeans next, and the strangers last of all. They also shewed them a great iron chest, in which, as they said, were the bodies of the persons executed, and there obliged them to read a long inscription, setting forth who they were, on what account, and by whose order they were put to death: the whole ending with these words; “ All this is, set forth as a memo-  
“ rial of what has passed, and as an advertise-  
“ ment for the time to come. Hencefor-  
“ ward, so long as the sun shall shine upon  
“ the earth; let not any Christian be so  
“ hardy, as to set his foot into Japan; and  
“ be it known to all the world, that if  
“ king Philip in person, the God of the  
“ Christians, or the great Xaca, one of the  
“ first deities of Japan, shall presume to  
“ break this ordinance, he shall pay for it  
“ his head.” They then gave these poor people an old vessel to return to Macao; of which they accepted, rather than of being on board any of the Dutch ships, tho’ there were five of them at that time on the coast, who offered to set them safe on shore in that port: and it seems very probable, that the emperor of Japan was induced to treat the  
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Portuguese in this severe manner, by the representation of the Dutch, as to the power of the king of Spain, and his intentions of reducing both the Indies.

In 1525, Antonio Britto, with Garcias Henriquez, being sent from the Moluccas, discovered the great island of Celebes, or Macassar \*. It lies under, and is on both sides of the equinoctial, being situate between 116, and 124 deg. east long. and between two deg. north and 6 deg. south latitude. It is 500 miles long, and 200 broad; and at this time in the hands of the Dutch. Notwithstanding the Portuguese had for a long while traversed these seas, it does not appear that they gained any proper knowledge of the Sunda islands, before the year 1527, or knew any thing more than the name of the island Borneo, by reason of their frequently passing by its coasts. About this time Edward Conil had orders to examine it more narrowly, and being once acquainted with the riches of this country, they visited it often.

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\* *The reason why this island is sometimes called Celebes, and at others Macassar, is, because the former, which lies in the north west part of the island, and the latter which takes up all the south, were the principal kingdoms of the island, and especially the last; the monarchs of which were very powerful, and frequently made themselves masters of the best part of the whole country.*

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This island is of a circular form, and lies directly under the equator, being above 500 leagues in circumference. The hills are stored with gold, and the finest diamonds in India are found in the rivers; probably, washed down from the mountains by the torrents. The Portuguese found all the coasts inhabited by Moors, who, doubtless had established themselves there by conquest: but the original inhabitants, still remain in the mountains, being called Beajus, which, in the Malayan tongue, signifies a wild man, and by the same name, the Moors call their largest sort of apes; as if they would have us understand, that one had as small a share of humanity as the other; but this is not true. The Moors are governed by several kings; but the Beajules, have only princes and other chiefs. These people are generally very superstitious, being much addicted to augury. They are not Idolaters; for their sacrifices of sweet wood and perfumes, are offered to one only God, who, they believe, rewards the just, and punishes the wicked. They marry but one wife, and look upon the least breach of conjugal duty, either in the husband or wife, as so heinous an offence, that every one meditates the death of the transgressor, either by themselves or their friends. For this reason, their women are very modest, and the maidens are not seen by their husbands,

till the wedding day, when the women receive their portions.

They are enemies to fraud and theft, and grateful for all favours received. They live lovingly with one another; and therefore, when any person has gathered enough of what he sowed for his own use, the rest, both on the mountains and in the valleys, is in common, without any regard had to property. Their pleasures are innocent, and they seek honour in hunting; in this diversion, they strive to get sharp horns to polish, and wear them for ornament at their girdle; which girdle is nothing more than a long slip of linnen, that turns between the thighs to cover the privities; one end of which hangs before, the other behind. The peasants make a sort of cloth of the bark of trees, which, when washed and well beaten is soft as cotton; and those trees being within the territories of the Malay-Moors, they expose themselves for this bark to their tyranny and insolence. Some of the meaner sort go intirely naked; the rest wear a waistcoat made of the same bark, which they dye of any colour. To keep off the heat of the sun or rain, they have a cap made of the palm-tree leaves, pointed a top like a sugar loaf, pretty long, having flaps that hang down. The arms they use are knives; and trunks about six spans long, out of which they shoot wooden darts, head-  
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ed with iron, which they send out by their breath with a vast force; and sometimes the points of these being poisoned, the wound is mortal. They sometimes also shoot birds thro' them with pellets. They are of a dark complexion, well looking people, and strong.

The air of Borneo is reckoned very unwholesome, which is occasioned by the country's being low and marshy in some places. Tho' it abounds in rich commodities, it is but thinly inhabited, and there is not now one European settlement on the whole island.

The Portuguese visited the noble island of Java, much sooner than that of Borneo, on account of the trouble given them by the privateers, fitted out from Bantam, or as they term it Bintam; but being very sensible, they had not a force sufficient to keep this island; their general Pedro Mascarenbas contented himself with making a new king of Bantam, when he had taken and plundered it, and making him pay an annual tribute. Since the Dutch became possessed of Batavia, and the emperor of Materan, and the king of Bantam, divided this island between them, the ancient trade is entirely lost.

There is scarcely any passage relating to the discoveries made by the Portuguese, in the East Indies more curious, than what belongs to their finding the islands of Japan, which were discovered, much about the

same time, by two sets of adventurers, both the effects of chance. Of the first of these, we have a large account given by the discoverer himself; which we shall lay before the reader, in as few words as possible.

His name was Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, who tells us, that being in company with two of his countrymen, called Pedro Zeimoto, and Christopher Borello, at Lampacao, now Macao, they endeavoured to procure a passage to some other part of India. After they had tried various means for this purpose, at length a corsair offered his service, promising to conduct them to the islands of Lequios\*. But the weather proving stormy, and the ship leaky, they were obliged to put into some port to refit; accordingly, the Chinese captain made for a certain port in the island of Japan. Before they entered, two barks came off to know who they were, and what they wanted? The captain answer-

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\* *These islands, of which the Portuguese had some knowledge, are called by different names. They lie between 26 and 30 deg. north latitude, having the island of Formosa on the south west, the continent of China on the west, and the islands of Japan on the south; having no land on the east, nearer than America. The Japanese report, they are the most fruitful countries in the world, and the inhabitants the happiest and best conditioned of the species. Some authors call them the islands of Liçueios, others the islands of Rinku.*

ed, they came from China; that his ship was full of goods, and that he designed to trade, if he could get permission. To which they replied, that they might have leave to trade, if they paid the port duties. This demand was readily agreed to by the captain, and he was conducted into the harbour.

About two or three hours after, came the chief of the place, with some persons of note, and several merchants, who were greatly surprised at the sight of three Portuguese. They immediately demanded of what nation the strangers were? The captain told the lord of the island, who was called Nautaquim, that they came from a great city called Molucca; but were born in a kingdom of Europe named Portugal. The chief seemed more amazed at this answer than before, and said to his attendants, “ Let  
“ me die, if I don’t believe these are the  
“ people called Chinchicogis, of whom  
“ we read in our old books, that can fly  
“ upon the waters, and make themselves  
“ masters of every rich country they are in-  
“ formed of: we shall think ourselves hap-  
“ py if they are content to be our allies.”  
He then asked the captain, with what view he brought these strangers to Japan? He replied, that he found them in distress at Macao, and from a principle of humanity took them on board, in hopes providence would raise him a like friend, if he should  
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ever have occasion. Nautaquim, perfectly satisfied with this answer, went immediately on board the Chinese vessel, asked the Portuguese abundance of questions, and invited them on shore.

They accepted the invitation, and went accordingly, carrying him a present. Nautaquim received them kindly, and examined them about their country, insisting particularly on the following three points, which he declared he had been told by the Chinese and Lequians. 1. That Portugal was bigger and richer than China. 2. That the king of Portugal had conquered the greatest part of the world. 3. That his Portuguese majesty had more than 2000 houses full of gold and silver. Pinto fairly owns, that he did not stick closely to truth in his answers to these interrogatories; but said what he thought would confirm Nautaquim in the high opinion he had conceived of their sovereign. All the while they stay'd here, they were treated with great civility, allowed to go where they pleased, and to see every thing they desired. Zeimoto had a very fine gun, with which the Japanese were highly delighted, and spoke of it to Nautaquim, who asked to see it, which request was readily granted, and he thought himself so much obliged hereby, that he set the Portuguese upon one of his own horses, and obliged him to ride thro' the town with a  
crier



crier before him, who proclaimed him Nautaquim's cousin: On his return he had an apartment assigned him in the palace; upon this, he made Nautaquim a present of the piece, for which he sent him 1000 taels, which in our money is equal to \* 333 l.

The inhabitants, to imitate the liberality of their prince, bought all the captain's cargo at great prices; insomuch, that for what cost him 2500 taels, they gave him to the value of 30,000. The Chinese captain, having disposed of his goods and refitted his ship, was preparing to depart, when a boat arrived in the harbour with a letter from the King of Bungo to Nautaquim, importing, that he was informed of some strangers being come into his dominions, by which it was evident, that the world was much larger than they imagined, and desired him to send one of these strangers, at least, that he might talk with him, the rather, because he was a little indisposed by repeated fits of melancholy. Nautaquim instantly sent for the Portuguese, and informed them, that this prince was both his uncle and father-in-law, desiring they would grant his request: then declared, that

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\* This is the most singular thing in Pinto's relation; for tho' the people were amazed on first seeing the gun, they were so ingenious as to make several in a few days, even before he was sent for to Bungo, and, in a few years, became very expert in the trade.

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he would not part with his cousin Zeimoto, but that the ambassador might take his choice of the two other; then pausing a while, he fixed upon Pinto as the fittest person for his uncle's purpose, and at the same time made him a present of 200 taels for his trouble.

Pinto took leave of his friends, and embarked with the ambassador. On their arrival at the capital, where the king of Bungo resided, he sent one of his sons to compliment them, to whom the ambassadors delivered a letter from Nautaquim for the king his father, who, as soon as he received it, desired the Portuguese to come to him, and was received with all imaginable respect. The first question he asked Pinto was, Whether the gout, with which he was terribly afflicted, was a distemper known in any country thro' which he had travelled, and whether he had ever heard of a remedy that would effectually cure it? Pinto honestly told him that he was no Physician; but that he brought with him, from China, a piece of wood, which, in his opinion, would be of great service to him; and that he had left it in the island where he first arrived. The king sent a messenger for it immediately. As soon as he returned with it, Pinto ordered it to be steeped in water, and gave it his majesty to drink; and in the space of a few days

days he found himself able to rise and walk, which he had not done for two years.

One may easily conceive, how much this extraordinary circumstance contributed to the kind treatment of a stranger. He was caressed by the whole court, every one contriving how to entertain and divert him: but in the midst of this joy there happened an unlucky accident, which had like to have proved fatal to the Portuguese.

Pinto brought with him his gun, which was much admired by all that beheld it. The hereditary prince was so taken with it, that he would needs try to shoot himself. To this Pinto would by no means consent, telling him it was a very dangerous instrument, and might do much mischief in the hands of a person who knew not how to manage it: his refusal made the other only the more eager, who complained to his father, that the stranger would not trust him with his gun. The king desired the Portuguese to oblige him, who readily consented, and promised to go with him a shooting on the day following.

The young prince was so impatient, that he rose before it was light, and was at Pinto's chamber before he was awake; he would not disturb him; but seeing the gun, took it out with him into the court; resolving to make a shoot himself; but being unacquainted with the method of charging it, put

put in a treble quantity of powder, which burst the barrel of the piece, tore off his thumb, and laid him on the ground for dead. The noise awakened Pinto, who immediately ran out to know what was the matter; and seeing the prince on the ground, whom he took to be dead, he threw himself on his body in great agony. A moment or two after came the king, the queen, and the two princesses, and seeing the prince swimming in blood, and Pinto lying by him, they concluded that the prince had been murdered, by the stranger. Hereupon two soldiers came up with drawn swords to cut off Pinto's head; but the king would not suffer it to be done; being resolved to extort from him for what reason he was induced to commit this horrid action.

They were on the very point of torturing Pinto, to bring him to confession, when the prince came to himself, and observing how matters stood, declared that the stranger was innocent, and desired he might be set at liberty, and have leave to visit him, which was granted. It was then proposed that they should send for an old bonze, who lived above 70 leagues off, to dress the wound. The young prince would by no means agree to this proposal, but said he should die if he had not immediate assistance, and begged he might be put into the hands of the stranger, who best knew how to cure him.

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The king instantly sent for him, and asked if he would undertake to cure the wound, which, if he could perform, he should think his kingdom too small a reward. Pinto replied, that he would promise for nothing; but do the best in his power, and hoped for success.

Hereupon the prince was left to his care, which caused great uneasiness among the Bonzes, who asserted, that if the stranger touched him, he would die; and that the only thing his majesty could do, was to offer up the stranger as a sacrifice to the Gods, and send for the old Bonze: But the prince and his party interposed so warmly in favour of the stranger, that the king consented. When he was brought to Pinto's lodgings, he dressed his thumb, as he had observed the European surgeons to do, and in a month's time, there was no other signs of a wound than the scars it left behind. The king and his court were exceedingly rejoiced at this unexpected cure, and besides a thousand thanks, made the Portuguese magnificent presents; he received also 1500 taels from the king as soon as the prince came abroad.

About this time Pinto received advice that the Chinese ship would stay no longer; upon which he desired leave to return to his countrymen, to this the king consented, but with great reluctance. However, he

ordered a vessel to be fitted out to carry him back ; sent a gentlemen with him, and furnished him with all manner of provisions. After his return he waited about fourteen days for a fair wind, and arrived safely at Liampo on the coast of China. This is Pinto's account as written by himself.

We shall now proceed to the other discovery of this country by the Portuguese. In the same year, three of the same nation, whose names were Antonia Mota, Francisco Zeimoto, and Antonio Pexota, in a voyage from the island of Celebes to China, were accidentally thrown upon the coasts of these islands, and very well received. Among other acquaintance, they met with one Angero, of a good family and fortune, who was greatly disturbed in his mind, on account of some irregularities committed in his youth, and seemed to hear them dispute about the truth of the Christian religion with pleasure.

Two years after, Alvarez Vaz, a merchant of Portugal, came hither also, and became very intimate with this same person, and persuaded him to go to the Portuguese settlements, in order to be converted by the holy doctrine of Francis Xavier. He accordingly went to Goa, and was baptized, and the next year accompanied father Xavier, and two more Jesuits, to Japan, where they entered upon their mission, by the progress of which, tho' this country became so well

well known to the Portuguese; yet if Mendez Pinto had not published his own voyage thither, it is more than probable, we should never have heard any thing of it. He afterwards visited Japan, in company with Xavier; and when this industrious Jesuit, whom the papists call the apostle of the Indies, died, Pinto went thither a third time as ambassador from the viceroy of the Indies, to the king of Bungo. The conversions made in this vast empire, greatly extended the Portuguese trade; for they being established in China, sent from thence prodigious quantities of silks to Japan, which enriched their merchants to that degree, as the Dutch writers assert, they have carried home in one small vessel a hundred tons of gold: but this, their almost incredible success, proved the cause of their being deprived of the beneficial commerce. They were succeeded by the Dutch, who were more obliged to one Mr. Adams an Englishman, and Mr. Carron a Frenchman, for maintaining their trade in this country, than in any other place. But as there is no part of the East Indies, where the Dutch have so little authority, and where their establishment is of so little consequence, as in Japan; we shall, under this head, give the reader a description of that wealthy country, from the observations of John Albert de Mandelsloe, who made

the tour of the Indies, literally translated from his original voyage, written by himself.

Japan, says our author, consists of many islands, which are divided by different arms of the sea, extending from 31 to 40 deg. east latitude. This empire takes in 66 lesser provinces, of which 53 are comprehended within the two great kingdoms of Meaco and Amagunce; nine within the great kingdom of Ximo, and the other four within that called Xicoum. But the Japanese are to this day uncertain, whether the whole empire is an island, or joined to the continent; for, from the province of Quanto, to the borders of another called Tzungaa, is 27 days journey to the E. N. E. and even then they cross an arm of the sea eleven leagues wide to the province of Jessô, which is so inclosed with inaccessible mountains, that nobody has yet been able to discover the extent of them. These numerous provinces are assigned to as many princes, who have all secretaries appointed by the emperor; whose business is to inspect, and give an account of their actions, more especially of the revenues, which are exceeding large, amounting, according to the computation of the Japanese, to eight millions four hundred thousand kockins, each of which make four French crowns; out of this they are obliged to maintain a certain number of forces, in proportion to their revenues, which consist chiefly



chiefly in lordships and demesnes. They have mines of all sorts, and he that is possessed of 1000 kockins per ann. is obliged to maintain 20 foot, and two horsemen; by this means the emperor can raise an army of 368,800 foot, and 38,800 horse; besides the 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horse, which he keeps up as a standing army: nor is this to be wondered at, since some of these princes have such vast revenues, that, according to the proportion above-mentioned, they are obliged to furnish 100,000 foot, and 120 horse.

All the great men in Japan have three names; the proper name of their family, and a surname taken from the province, city, or castle where they command. It is also customary in Japan for the slaves to offer themselves a voluntary sacrifice to their masters when they die. Their pagods or temples are of wood, 7 or 8 fathom square, and raised about a yard from the ground; they have in them small turrets, with lights on both sides, and images unto whom they pay their devotion. The king and great lords have many fine castles belonging to them. Few of their cities have any fortifications, and those that have, are defended only by a single wall. Their houses are built after the same manner, each street having two gates, which are shut up and guarded in the night time.

Every Japanese, of what rank soever, is absolute master of the life of his slave. They are so unmerciful in their punishments, that the least crime is punished with death. Gaming, or killing any person, tho' in their own defence, is capital; so is theft, tho' it be but the value of a penny. For greater crimes, the fathers, brothers, and sisters, are put to death for the offences of a single person; nay, the wives and daughters, tho' ever so innocent, are all involved in the same guilt. They fasten thieves with a straw-rope to the cross, and the executioner runs a pike into the right side up to the left shoulder, and again from the left side up to the right shoulder. Other malefactors are fastened only to a post, with their hands stretched out, by two persons, while the executioner runs a pike thro' the neck into the heart. Those offences which involve the whole family in the same punishment, are wilful murder, coining, firing of houses, ravishing of women, and extortion; which are punished by crucifying with the head downwards; by boiling in oil and water, tearing to pieces with horses, &c. A lye told before a judge is here also capital.

The princes, and great men, if guilty of any crimes, are banished into the island of Taitzen Sima, which is all rocks, without road or harbour, and produces nothing but mulberry-trees and silk-worms, which furnish

with those wretched prisoners with materials for making stuffs, in which business they employ their lives, being supplied from time to time with sad provisions.

The annual expence of the emperor is computed at four millions of kockins, and five millions more for his governors, and military officers. He resides in the castle of Jedo, which is two leagues in circumference, defended by a tripple wall, and several towers of free-stone. The gates are covered with iron bars, having lodging-rooms over them, which contain 300 soldiers. The emperors palace, and the apartments for the women, stand in the centre; about which are the houses of the princes and other great lords, all richly gilt and furnished, their chief emulation being to rival each other in this kind of magnificence. The emperor never stirs abroad without a great number of these lords, and their young kindred, who are his body guards. They are all cloathed in black, and as they march along the streets are quite silent.

The emperor's revenues are so great, that the income of two months is sufficient to pay the whole year's expence; so that his treasure must be immense, mostly consisting of gold and silver, which being put into vast chests, is inclosed in towers belonging to the castle. He has a numerous council, tho' only four of them are charged with the management

management of all important affairs, and daily attend at court; some of whom have two millions of crowns yearly revenue; but their expences are proportionable; for they are obliged to live half the year, at least, at court in vast splendor, maintaining a retinue of 300 persons, and having 1000 in their family. These great persons are not to marry any wife, but what is presented to them by the Emperor; which puts them to vast charge in giving them magnificent entertainments, and such other enjoyments as are allowable; but their liberty is resigned to their husbands, and they are not suffered to go abroad above once a year, to visit their near relations; notwithstanding the wives of Japan are, beyond all others, the most faithful to their husbands; for even the least suspicion of dishonesty after marriage is punished with the utmost cruelty; and if the husband finds his wife shut in a room with another man, he may kill them both. The better to cool the heat of youth, and the danger arising from adultery, they have in the cities, and in most of the inns upon the road, common prostitutes, who are all of them slaves, and expose themselves to travellers for money; and if a person is to stay for any time, he may hire one of these concubines for his own use, at an easy rate.

They have little or no devotion among them, and seldom pray in their temples  
before

before their idols above once a month. The ecclesiasticks are divided into twelve tribes, eleven of which abstain from living creatures and women; and if they break their vow are punished with death. The twelfth sect are allowed to marry, and eat any thing, the chief of which is the head of all their clergy.

Their houses are slightly built, and but one story high; the country being subject to earthquakes: they are raised about four feet from the ground, and within are convenient enough, being divided into several parts; some for the men, and others only for the use of the women. They are very nice in their gardens and orchards, very obliging in conversation, especially in their visits, presenting their guests with tobacco, tea, and wine, of which last they will take a plentiful share. Their wine is made of rice, sugar, and honey, and is very strong. Their marriages are made between the relations; the bride and bridegroom being not allowed to see one another till it is to be consummated.

They educate their children with great mildness, without any beating, as well at home as at school, whither they are not sent till seven or eight years old; and, when they come to man's estate, the father assigns to his son a part of the house, and sometimes his whole business, reserving to himself a certain allowance; but the daughters have  
no

no dowry, nor the least share in his estate. They are so nice in point of honour, that a Japanese will rather risque the ruin of his family, than break his promise to his friend, which is the reason most of their delinquents will suffer the greatest torture, rather than make known their accomplices. They have such vast quantities of all things among themselves, that they seldom deal in any foreign commodities; but leave that commerce to strangers. All goods, either imported or exported out of Japan, are free from duty.

The language throughout Japan is all the same, but quite different from the Chinese, as well as the characters. They use but few words, write with pencils, and in short hand, and very quick. Their accounts are kept with small beads, which they string upon little sticks, like a square board. They have but one sort of measure. Their gold is of the best kind, but their silver none of the finest: of the first they have three sorts of coin; one of which is about twelve pounds sterling value. The second sort about thirty shillings, the third about twenty shillings.

The silver coin goes by weight, being in form of ingots, and so divided; that each piece commonly amounts to about fourteen pounds. They have also a smaller silver coin, made like a French bean, which goes likewise by weight.

They

They do not geld any creature, so that they are always well stored with cattle, as well as fowl and small birds. There is a certain hot spring here which spouts out its waters duly every twenty-four hours, with such force, that tho' the water rises from under a pile of stones, which are laid over the top of the hole from whence it issues, to the height of twenty-four feet, yet it is hotter than boiling water, and burns every thing it touches on its first coming out, but being conveyed thro' pipes to the adjacent houses, it is reduced to such a degree of heat, as makes it proper for bathing.

The air of Japan is healthy, inclining rather to heat than cold. They sow in May, and reap in September. They have neither oil nor butter, and have an aversion to milk, which they are of opinion is the seat of the soul in beasts. They will not eat the flesh of beasts, tho' they are great lovers of fowl and venison. Their cedars here are so tall and large, that they make masts of them for shipping.

The new Philippine islands are a late discovery, of which we have the following account in the Philosophical Transactions, from a letter of a missionary at Manilla, who, being accidentally at the town of Guivam in the island of Samal, he there met with twenty-nine inhabitants of some new discovered countries, who were driven  
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into that road by strefs of weather ; one of the inhabitants, seeing they were strangers, made a signal to them, but the poor people being frightened, were about to make off. Hereupon the Guiamnese swam to one of these little vessels to bring them safe into shore. He was no sooner got on board one of them, than the women, with their children on their backs, threw themselves into the sea, and swam to the other. He being alone in the vessel, determined to follow them, and going on board the second, brought them safe to land, while they resigned themselves up intirely to the conduct of this stranger, as so many prisoners.

The people of Guivam used them kindly, giving them wine and provisions. They eat cocoas very freely, being the fruit of the palm-tree in this country. Their pulp is something like that of chesnuts. They also brought them boiled rice, which they viewed with surprize, and taking up some grains, they imagined they were worms, and threw them on the ground. They next set before them large roots, called Palavan, of which they eat greedily. In the mean time they brought to them two women, who had been driven ashore at Guivam, and knew something of their language. One of which found among these people a near relation. And, as soon as they knew each other, they fell a weeping. They related, that their  
country



country consisted of thirty-two islands, which cannot be far distant from the Marianas. The strangers added, that of the 32 islands three only were uninhabited, unless with wild fowl; but that all the rest were well peopled. Upon asking them the number of inhabitants, they pointed to a heap of sand, to signify the number of them was very great.

The most considerable of all these islands is Lamuree, where the king of the country resides, to whom the governors of all the other islands are subject. Among these strangers; there was one of the governors, and his wife, who was the king's daughter; and tho' they were half naked, their carriage and peculiar air of greatness sufficiently distinguished them from the rest. The bodies of all the men were painted more or less; but the women and children were not painted at all. There were nineteen men and ten women.

They have no cows in their islands, and on sight of them they ran away, as they did at the barking of a dog; neither have they cats, stags, horses, nor, in general, any other quadruped; nor any fowl but sea fowl, excepting hens, which they breed, but never eat the eggs. It did not appear that they had any knowledge of a deity, or worshipped idols. Their life is perfectly savage, minding nothing but eating and drinking, in which they observe not set meals, but fall to

when hungry or dry. The natives of these islands never offer any violence to each other. Murder and homicide are to them unknown; and they have a proverb among them, *That one man never kills another.* It is probable these islands may abound in gold, amber, and drugs, being situated very nearly under the same degree of longitude as the Moluccas.

We have now gone thro' all the lights, given us by the expeditions of the Portuguese and Spaniards on this side. Proceed we next to give an account of the state of the affairs of the English in the East Indies.

### C H A P. III.

*Of the Intercourse between the inhabitants of Great Britain and the people in the Indies, with a succinct history of the East India company.*

**I**N the reign of Queen Elizabeth, many great men and rich merchants, being desirous to establish a regular trade to the East Indies; and that they might do this the more effectually, they applied themselves to her majesty for a charter, who granted them one, which was dated December 31, 1600. By this charter she created them a  
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body corporate, granted them a common seal, appointed Thomas Smith, Esq; alderman of London, their first governor, and established a court of 20 directors, to be chosen annually on the first of July, or within six days after. She also granted them a power to make bye-laws, allowed them to export goods custom-free for four years, permitted them to export 30,000*l.* in *foreign coin*, with leave to do the same in every voyage, provided they brought *that sum by their trade out of foreign countries into this kingdom*. This charter was exclusive, by which the queen engaged not to grant any other for fifteen years; but with this proviso; *that if this charter should appear to be detrimental to the public in any respect, it should, upon two years notice from the privy seal, become void: but if it should prove a national benefit, then she promised to renew the charter, with such additional clauses in their favour as should seem necessary.*

This act was certainly drawn up with great wisdom and foresight, both for the good of the adventurers; and the *benefit of the public*, by which we mean the Interest of the whole nation. These are circumstances which ought to be equally considered in all such cases; for whatever may be the design of the persons concerned in such adventures, it ought to be the care of the government, that even these exclusive com-

panies, should be so guarded, as the very persons concerned therein may never have it in their power to sacrifice the general interest to their particular advantage.

In consequence of this charter, the company, in a short time, raised 72,000*l.* with which sum they fitted out five able ships, to begin their correspondence and commerce in that part of the world. The names of these were the Dragon, of 600 tons, admiral; the Hector, of 300 tons, vice-admiral, the Susanna, of 200 tons; the Ascension, of the same burden, and the Guest, a store-ship, of 130 tons. Their whole complement of men was 480; the expence of equipping them 45,000*l.* and their cargo took up the other 27,000*l.* They sailed from Torbay May 2, 1601, and continued their voyage to the Indies without any considerable accident, where captain James Lancaster, who commanded as admiral, entered into a treaty with the king of Achen, sent a pinnace to the Moluccas, erected a factory in the island of Java, and, with good profit, returned to England. This was the only voyage undertaken during the reign of queen Elizabeth. King James, her successor, affording them all the assistance they could desire, which engaged them to make a second voyage in 1604. Sir Henry Middleton, in the Dragon, having the title of admiral. This squadron visited the Moluccas and the island  
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of Java, and were well received by the Indian chiefs, but very ill used by the Dutch; who began thus early to lose all sense of gratitude for the nation that had preserved them, and endeavoured all they could to misrepresent the English to the Indians as a cruel, unjust, and ambitious people, who designed to seize their country.

When Sir Henry Middleton sailed from Bantam, the king thereof sent by him a letter to his Britannic majesty, with a present of Bezoar stones. In their passage home they met with the Hector, one of their Squadron, with only ten men alive; by whom they were informed of the loss of the Susanna. With this ship they arrived safe in the Downs May 6, 1606. The next year the company undertook another voyage, in which only the Dragon, the Hector, and the Consent, were employed, under the command of captain William Keeling. This was a successful voyage, especially in the Moluccas. Notwithstanding the ill treatment they there met with from the Dutch. This, however, did not prevent their bringing home a valuable cargo of spice, with which they arrived in the Downs, May 10, 1710, having not lost a single man in the whole voyage.

With the forementioned captain Keeling went out one captain William Hawkins, having the title of the king's ambassador to the

great Mogul, who established a good correspondence between the two courts.

In 1607, they sent the *Ascension* and the *Union* to the Red Sea, and the coast of Arabia, who met with but indifferent success. In 1609, the company sent captain David Middleton to the Moluccas, in the Expedition; where the Dutch now began to act as sovereigns, and had a design to seize the captain and his ship, which he, by good intelligence and better conduct, prevented, and brought home 139 tons of nutmegs, the same quantity of mace, besides pepper and other valuable goods, which was the most beneficial voyage that had been hitherto undertaken by the company.

They now began to make a considerable figure, and to export vast quantities of English goods and manufactures; and as they had already performed the terms upon which the original charter was granted, they solicited his majesty to enlarge it in such a manner as he should think fit for the common benefit, and to make it perpetual. This request being granted, the company began to build a very large and fine ship of 1200 tons burthen, which is mentioned by our historians, as the first great ship that was built in this kingdom. They also built a new pinnace of 250 tons to attend her. When both were ready to be launched, the king, the prince of Wales, and many of the chief of  
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the nobility, went to Deptford, and dined on board the great ship. This entertainment was all served up in China-ware; and when dinner was over, the plates and dishes, tho' then curiosities, and very valuable, were left to be taken away by the waiters, or whoever else took a fancy to any of them.

His majesty called the large ship the Trade's Encrease, and to the pinnace he gave the name of the Pepper-corn. This being the sixth voyage, they sent these two ships, with two others, under the command of Sir Henry Middleton, at the expence of 80,000 l. In 1610, they sent a single ship, and the following season three more, under the command of captain John Saris, at the expence of 60,000 l.

The Portuguese now began to prevent the English from trading to the East Indies, which obliged the company to be at more expence in fitting out their next Squadron, which consisted of four large ships; of these, the biggest was the Dragon, commanded by captain Thomas Best, who, in six months, arrived safely at Surat, and settled a factory there, which was scarce compleated, before the viceroy of Goa came out with a large fleet to destroy him. It consisted of four large galleons and twenty-six gallies, having on board 5000 men, with 130 pieces of cannon. Captain Best had only a small pinnace with him; but resolved to stand the engagement

ment, and maintain the factory. He accordingly engaged, and defeated them, killing 200 men; after this, the Portuguese never more disturbed the English on that coast. Captain Best, having settled every thing at Surat, sailed to Java, and taking a valuable cargo on board there, returned to London in 1614.

Captain Saris also returned the same year, and Sir Thomas Smith, governor of the East India company, having represented to the king, that he had left Mr. Paul Canning their agent, at the court of the great Mogul; but his opinion was, it would be for the benefit of the company, if his majesty would be pleased to send a person of distinction thither, with the title of his ambassador. Hereupon the king appointed Sir Thomas Roe, knight, his ambassador. The company also, as a mark of their gratitude, equipped out a fine squadron of four large ships, under the command of captain Keeling, who landed him safe in India, where he prosecuted his affairs with great success.

The English and Dutch companies in the Indies, were now grown so successful, that they began to extend their power over several other places. The English particularly, procured from the people of Banda, a surrender of themselves to the crown of England, by a formal instrument; but the  
Dutch



Dutch pretended a prior claim to these countries, from their endeavouring to subdue them. The English, however, proceeded to make further conquests, without considering they wanted force to maintain those of which they were already possessed, and accordingly got also the surrender of Lantore, by another solemn instrument, signed by the natives, and dated November 14, 1620.

Hitherto things went on swimmingly, and if the English East India company had been strong enough, they would have procured to themselves a very large share of the spice-trade; but as affairs happen'd, they opened a sure road to their own destruction. While this was doing in the east, a treaty was set on foot in England for settling the differences between the two nations, which proved ineffectual; for the Dutch general, in the mean time, attacked Lantore, with a large fleet, and having defeated the natives, fired the town, plundered the English factory, took away the cloth, money, and bullion, together with 23,000 lb. of mace, and 150,000 lb. of nutmegs. The English factors that were settled there, were stripped naked, bound, beaten, and thrown over the walls, and afterwards dragged thro' the streets in chains. The factory of Poleroon underwent the same fate; and thus all things were in a worse state after this treaty, than

than before. What is yet more amazing, the Dutch East India company published in Holland a vindication of these proceedings, alledging their prior right to the islands. To this the English published an answer, and insisted upon their legal title to those countries, but we do not find that the government ever demanded just satisfaction of the states for this ill usage.

Soon after they took away from the English the small remains of the spice trade, and to monopolize a commerce of such importance, the Dutch were guilty of the most unheard of barbarities in Amboyna, and yet we find them very slightly passed over in those performances, where we might expect the fullest account of them.

We having already given a full account of that island \*, shall proceed to relate the whole of this bloody transaction, from such authorities as cannot be questioned. The English had here five factories, the chief of which was at the town of Amboyna, where the Dutch had a strong castle; under the protection of this the English lived in a house of their own in the town, holding themselves safe, and conversing and trading together with the Dutch for some years. At length some difference arose between

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\* See the voyage of William Fannell round the World.

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them, which daily encreased, and were at length put an end to in the following manner. In February, 1622, O. S. a Japanese soldier, belonging to the Dutch, in the castle of Amboyna, walking one night upon the wall, came to a centinel, and, among other talk, enquired of the strength of the castle, and of the number of soldiers in the garrison. This Japanese, for his said conference with the centinel \*, was immediately apprehended on suspicion of treason, and put to torture, by which he confessed himself, and many more of his countrymen, had a design to make themselves masters of the castle. Upon this, more Japanese were tortured and examined, and also a Portuguese, the guardian of the Dutch slaves. During this examination, which continued four days, the Englishmen went to and from the castle about their business as usual. They saw the prisoners, heard of their tortures, and of the crime they were accused; but never suspected this affair could affect them.

At this time, there was one Abel Price, who was surgeon to the English, a prisoner in the castle, for offering, in a drunken fit,

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\* It is to be observed, that these Japanese served the Dutch as soldiers, yet were not of the trusty bands, tho' they always lodged in the castle, and on occasion were called out to assist the watch.

to set a Dutchman's house on fire. The Dutch brought out this fellow, and shewing him some of the Japanese, whom they had grievously tortured, told him, they had confessed the English were their confederates, and if he would not confess the same, they would use him much worse. Accordingly they put him to the torture, and he confessed whatever they asked. About nine o'clock, the same morning, they sent for captain Towerson, and the rest of the English that were there, to come to the governor. They all went but one, who was left to look after the house. On their appearance before the governor, he accused them of a conspiracy to take the castle, and made them all prisoners. In the mean time he attacked him that was left in the house, took the merchandize into his own custody, by an inventory, and seized all the chests, boxes, books, &c. that were in the factory.

Captain Towerson was confined in his chamber, with a guard of Dutch soldiers; and one Thompson was kept prisoner in the castle. The rest, namely, Webber, Collins, Beaumont, Ramsey, Johnson, Brown, and Fardo, were sent on board the Dutch ships in the harbour, all made fast in irons. The same day the governor sent to the rest of the factories in the island, to seize all the English in them; when Colson, Clark, and Sharrock, who were found in the factory  
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at Hitto; and Collins, Webber, and Sadler, at Larica, were bound, and brought prisoners to Amboyna, on the 16th of February: upon this day also Pocal, Wetheral, and Ladbroke, were apprehended at Cambello; with Beaumont, Griggs, and Ramsey at Loho, and brought in irons to Amboyna, the 20th of the same month. They now set to work with the prisoners who were already come, and began with John Beaumont and Timothy Johnson. The first of these was left in the hall, and the last was left under a guard in another room, who heard Beaumont cry out very pitifully for some time, and then be quiet a while, then loud again.

Then Abel Price, the Surgeon, who had been examined and tortured, was brought to accuse him, but Johnson not hitherto confessing any thing, Price was taken away again, and Johnson put to torture a second time. After he had been about half an hour in the second examination, he was brought out all wet, and cruelly burnt in several parts of his body, and laid aside in a bye-place, with a soldier to watch over him, that he might speak to nobody. Now Thomson was brought to examination, not in the same room, yet Beaumont heard him roar several times. After about an hour and half spent in torturing him, he was disposed of under a guard another way. Then Beau-

mont was called in, and, being asked many things, denied them all, with deep oaths, &c. He was then made fast and tortured, having a cloth tied about his neck, and two men ready with jars of water to be poured on his head; but yet for this time the governor ordered him to be loosed, saying, he would indulge him a day or two on account of his great age.

On the 16th, Webber, Collins, and Brown, were fetched from on board the Rotterdam: at the same time, came Colson, Griggs, Clark, Sharrock, and Sadler, from Hitto, and Larica, and were put into the Hall of the castle. Robert Brown, taylor, was first called in, and being tortured, confessed in order as the Fiscal asked him. Now Edward Collins was brought in, and told, that those who had been before examined, confessed he was accessary to the taking of the castle, which, when he denied with the greatest execrations, they made his hands and feet fast to the rack, bound a cloth about his throat, ready to put him to the torture of the water. Thus prepared, he prayed a respite. Being let down, he again protested his innocence, and added, that because he knew they would by torture make him confess any thing, desired to be informed what they would have him say. Hereupon the Fiscal said, What do you mock us? then bid the tormentors  
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up with him again, and so gave him the torture of the waters, which he not being able long to endure, desired to be let down to his confession. Then he told them, that about two months before, himself, Thompson, Brown and Fardo, had plotted, with the assistance of the Japanese, to surprize the castle. Here he was interrupted by the Fiscal, and interrogated, Whether captain Towerly was not of the party? he answered No. You lie, replied the Fiscal, Did not he call you to him, and tell you, that the abuses of the Dutch had induced him to concert a plot, and that he wanted nothing but your consent and secrecy to put it in execution? on this one John Ingost, a Dutch merchant, standing by, said, Did you not all swear upon the Bible to keep the affair secret? Collins answered with oaths, that he was ignorant of any such thing; then being made fast again, he said all was true that they had spoken. The Fiscal then asked, Whether the English in the rest of the factories were not concerned in the plot? he answered, No. The Fiscal then asked, Whether the president of the English at Jacatra, or Mr. Welden, agent at Banda, were privy to this business? again, he answered, No. Then the Fiscal asked, By what means the Japanese should have executed their design? while Collins was meditating some probable fiction, the Fiscal helped him out, saying,

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Were not two Japanese to have went to the two points of the castle, and two to the governor's chamber-door, and when the noise without had drawn forth the governor to see what was the matter, they were to have murdered him? here one that stood near the Fiscal, said, Don't tell him what to say, let him answer for himself. Then the Fiscal asked, What the Japanese were to have for a reward? to this Collins replied, 1000 rials *per* man. Lastly, he asked, When this plot should have been carried into execution? whereupon, tho' he answered nothing, he was dismissed.

Samuel Colson was called next, who, for fear of the pain with which he saw Collins come out, whose eyes were ready to start out of his head with the torture of the water, resolved to confess all they asked, and so was soon dismissed. Then John Clark, who also came from Hitto, was fetched in, and soon after was heard to roar out amain. They tortured him with fire and water for two hours. The manner of his torture, as also that of Johnson's and Thompson's, was as followeth. They first hoisted him by the hands against a large door, and there made him fast to two staples of iron, fixed on both sides at the top of the door-posts, extending his arms as wide as they could stretch them. When thus fastned, his feet, being two feet from the ground, were extended



tended in the same manner, and made fast to the bottom of the door-trees on each side : then they tied a cloth about the lower part of his face and neck, so close, that scarce any water could pass by ; that done, they poured water gently upon his head till the cloth was full up to his mouth and nostrils, and somewhat higher, so that he could not draw breath, but he must swallow some, which being continually poured in softly, forced all his inward parts to come out of his nose, ears, and eyes, and often, as it were, choaking him, at length took away his breath, and caused him to faint away. Then they took him down in a hurry to vomit up the water, and when a little recovered, tied him up again, using him as before. In this manner they served him three or four times, till his belly was as big as a turn, and his cheeks like bladders, his eyes strutting out beyond his forehead ; yet all this he bore without confessing any thing, inso-much as the Fiscal and tormentors reviled him, saying he was a devil, and no man ; or was enchanted, that he could bear so much. Hereupon they cut off his hair very short, supposing he had some witchcraft hidden therein. Now they hoisted him up again, and burnt him with lighted candles under his elbows and arm-pits, in the palms of his hands, and at the bottoms of his feet, even till the fat dropped out on the candles,

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dles, then they applied fresh ones ; and under his arms they burnt so deep, that his inwards might be seen.

At last, finding they could get nothing out of him, they framed questions of particular circumstances, and he, overcome with torment, answered in the affirmative to every thing they asked him ; whereby they drew from him a confession to the following effect : “ That captain Towerfon had, on the last New-years day, sworn all the English at Amboyna to secrecy, and to aid him in a plot he had projected, with the assistance of the Japanese, to take the castle by surprize, and put the governor and all the Dutch to death.” Having thus martyred this poor man, he was carried away by four blacks to a dungeon, where he lay without help, till his flesh putrified, and large maggots dropped from him. Thus they finished the sabbath-day’s work, and it growing dark, they sent the rest of the English, who came that day from Hitto, first to a smith’s shop, where they were loaded with irons, and from thence to the same dungeon, where Clark and the rest, with the poor Japanese, lay stinking in their tor-  
tures.

After all their examinations, tortures, and confessions; the prisoners, both English, Portuguese, and Japanese, were brought into the great hall of the castle, and there solemnly





lemnly condemned, excepting four; captain Towerfon having been kept from the reft all the while. Now every thing being prepared for their execution, the condemned were brought from the hall, by the room where thofe who were pardoned flood to take the laft farewel of their countrymen, who were going to die, and charged them to bear witnefs to their friends in England of their innocence, and that they were barbaroufly murdered by the Dutch, whom they prayed God to forgive, and to have mercy upon their own fouls. Being brought into the yard, their fentence was read to them from a gallery, and they were led to the place of execution. They had prepared a cloth of black velvet for captain Towerfon's body to fall upon, which being ftained with blood, they charged to the account of the Englifh Eaft India company.

At the instant of the execution there arofe a thick darknefs, and a violent hurricane, that drove two Dutch fhips then riding at anchor in the harbour from their moorings, which they with the utmoft difficulty faved from fplitting on the rocks: a few days after, one William Dunkin, who had impeached Robert Brown, the Englifh taylor, coming on an evening to the grave, or Pit where all the Englifh were buried, excepting captain Towerfon, was taken ftark mad, and continued in this deplorable condition two  
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or three days, then died. At the same time also broke out a new sickness at Amboyna, which carried off 1000 Dutch and Amboynese in a short time. These tokens of divine vengeance, were, by the surviving English, referred to the prediction of Emanuel Thomson aforementioned, and were, by the Amboynese, interpreted as a sign of the wrath of God for this barbarous tyranny of the Dutch agents.

We have dwelt the longer on this subject, to demonstrate the ambitious projects and cruelties of our neighbouring allies; and to shew that king James, had nothing in view but the benefit of his subjects, as appears plainly, by the care he took to advance the company's trade to the East Indies; which now began to decline exceedingly; for the Dutch had so intimidated them by their severities, that their servants were not much inclined to settle in any colonies upon the Eastern coasts; so that, in a short time, our trade in these parts would have come to nothing, which our good friends the Dutch were endeavouring to bring about. But the king, in concert with some rich merchants of London, sent a squadron into those parts to establish a trade, without prejudicing the company, and by a commission under the great seal, dated December 12, 1635, appointed the persons therein named, to go to the East Indies, with six large ships, towards  
whose

whose equipment Sir William Courten himself advanced 120,000*l.* These adventurers met with good success, could they have found out a way to have brought their effects home, but the Dutch supplanted them, and not far from the Cape of Good Hope sunk two of the largest ships, called the Dragon and the Catharine, on board which every soul perished, with a cargo worth 150,000*l.*

This single act did not discourage the same proprietors, for in 1641, they all, except Sir William Courten, who was dead, agreed to fit out seven more ships for the East Indies, and were again confronted by the Dutch; for in January, 1643, the Henry Bonadventure, laden with pepper and other Indian goods, ran ashore on Maurice island, then in the hands of our allies, who seized her with all the goods, &c. on board, for the use of the Dutch East India company, and sent away the master and mariners, without any provisions, to the loss of 10,000*l.* among the proprietors. The Bona Esperanza likewise making a trading voyage to the Moluccas, was attacked by two Dutch men of war, who killed the master, wounded several seamen, made the rest prisoners, and took away all their goods, merchandize, writings and papers, to the value of 75,000*l.*

Upon

Upon this news Mr. Courten was obliged to leave the exchange, and to suffer his bills to be protested in England, in Holland and Zealand; so became insolvent, and was outlawed with Sir Edward Littleton, for 50,000*l*. At the same time, Sir Paul Pindar, having advanced several large borrowed sums to the king's use, was for the contracted farms of the customs fined 150,000 *l*.

Thus all the projects contrived for restoring the commerce of the East Indies fell to the ground, and the merchants that were engaged in them made beggars. King Charles I. interposed in their behalf with the states, which is an argument of his care for his subjects, even under the lowest circumstances, and, with much ado, brought them to pay 85,000 guilders, which proves the justice of the charge, tho' the satisfaction was inconsiderable. The Dutch East India company having now no body to oppose them, established themselves so effectually, that it was impossible for the English to form any designs to hurt them. They accordingly resolved to abandon their affairs as a trading body for several years. Such were the sad effects of our differences at home with respect to trade, and this too, at a critical juncture, when so much might have been done for the service of the nation.

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The immense wealth, and great naval power, procured by the Dutch in the manner aforesaid, encouraged them to think of farther grandeur, by suppressing our marine power. But in this attempt they were mistaken; for the parliament of England, however they came by their power, resolved to make a good use of it. This occasioned the first Dutch war, in which, for the reasons before assigned, they were the Aggressors, and paid dearly for it in the end; since after many defeats at sea, and notwithstanding they helped to procure a new revolution, by setting up the protector instead of the parliament; yet they were obliged to submit to a peace upon terms prescribed, by which they were obliged to do that justice to Cromwell, which they had denied to king James and king Charles.

In the 27th article of this treaty it was agreed, that the states general should take care that satisfaction be made for the massacre of the English at Amboyna, as the republic of England is pleased to term that fact. In consequence of this, the commissioners appointed on both sides met at Goldsmiths-hall, where the English exhibited against the Dutch a charge of 2,695,999l. 15s. for losses sustained, on which account, it was at length concluded, decreed and ordained, that the Dutch East India company should pay, before the first of January, 1656, O. S.

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at London, to the executors of captain Towerfon, 700 l. of Coulson, 400 l. of Powel, 350 l. of Grigg, 200 l. of Weteral, 200 l. of Sharrock, 150 l. of Collins, 465 l. of Beaumont, 300 l. of Webber, 200 l. of Ramsey, 350 l. of Radbrofee, 50 l. and of Thomson, 200 l. making in the whole 3615 l.

This arbitration was strictly executed, and ought to be looked upon as decisive against the Dutch, who, by these small recompenses to the representatives of those they had murdered at Amboyna, fixed upon themselves the guilt of that iniquitous proceeding.

Charles II. was no sooner restored to the throne, than he granted the company a new charter, by which he confirmed their former privileges, and enlarged the quantity of bullion to 50,000 l. every voyage, provided so much was brought into the kingdom, by the exportation of Indian goods; and on his marriage with the infanta of Portugal, he procured the cession of the island of Bombay, as part of her portion, by which means it came into the hands of the English. It must be owned, that the soil of this island is but barren, and the air unwholsome: but yet the situation is extremely convenient.

Soon after the marriage, his majesty sent the earl of Marleburgh to take possession of it, with five ships of war, who arrived at Bombay in September, 1663, where the clergy refused to obey the king of Portugal's order,

order, and would not acknowledge Sir Abraham Shipman, whom Charles II. had appointed governor thereof, as Viceroy, unless he would come into their measures; to which he, to preserve his new dignity, immediately consented; and the fleet was forced to go to Swally, a town which lies on the south west coast of India, commonly called the coast of Malabar, in the province of Cambaya, within the empire of the great Mogul. The governor of Surat, in whose district Swally is, being jealous of the numbers and bravery of the English, threatened the factory there established, if they did not immediately re-embark. To avoid the governor's resentment, they complied with his orders, and he allowed them the free use of the markets, so that they were in no want of provisions and merchandize while they staid here.

In January, 1664, his lordship returned to England, with two ships, leaving the rest with Sir Abraham to pass the Monsoons in some port on the coast. He unacquainted here, chose a desolate island, called Angadiva, where he landed the men, built huts to defend them against the inclemency of the weather, and there wintered, staying from April till October, in which time he buried above 200 men. The island is barren, but affords some springs of good water, being about a mile in length, and 300 paces

in breadth. When the monsoons were over, the Squadron put into Bombay, to try if the church would submit to the king of Portugal's orders. Now their holy zeal abated, and they were content to enter into a treaty, but before it was concluded Sir Abraham died, and was succeeded by one Mr. Humphrey Cooke, the next in commission, who, pursuant to the treaty, took possession of the island in the king's name, and began to erect regular fortifications; while the Dutch in the mean time very steadily pursued their plan of driving us out of the Indies.

Upon king James the second's accession, the East India company found him a more powerful protector than his brother. He not only extended their priviledges, but in a manner shared his sovereignty with them, by giving them a power to erect fortresses, raise armies, execute martial law, and coin money. Hereupon the company began to extend their authority very considerably; but the mischief was, they extended it only over, and not for, the advantage of their countrymen; for having now a great number of ships, they were obliged to send them abroad: but having no stock to employ them, they ordered all the chiefs of their factories in India to take up all the money they could get on the company's credit from the Indian merchants, to lade their  
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ships home, and when they had got all they could of the Mogul's subjects, then to pick quarrels with their creditors, and put a stop to their trade, which orders were immediately executed; for in 1686 and 1687, the Surat merchants traded briskly to Bassora, to Mocha, and Persia to the westward; to Molucca, Siam, Bengal, and Achen to the eastward, and the general granted passes to all who required them: but about the latter end of November, 1687, he sent several complaints to the governor of Surat, and demanded redress.

These grievances laid the foundation of a quarrel with the Mogul; for without ever apprising the king of it, the then governor Child seized his, the Mogul's subjects ships, wherever he met them, notwithstanding they had the sanction of his own passes. His articles of complaint were but weak arguments to raise a war, which cost his principals 400,000*l.* besides their loss of credit with the Mogul and his subjects, which has not yet been repaired. It may here be reasonably asked, By what rule of policy Sir Josiah or Sir John Child, could rob, murder, and destroy the Mogul's subjects in one part of his dominions, and expect the company to enjoy a free trade in another? This once more calls to my mind the licentiousness of the Dutch at Amboyna and Peloroon.

*While little vilians must submit to fate,  
The great ones may enjoy the world in state.*

GARTH.

The general having many ships and little employment for them, sent some to Mocha, Persia, and Bengal, to which places the Suraters had sent their's, under the sanction of his passes. Captain Andrews went to Mocha, and set up the English flag on his factory, and there seized two English ships, one called the Streights-merchant, captain Bear; the other belonging to Mr. Samuel Whiteborn, at Siam; whose commander was murdered in the cabin, because he would not deliver up the vessel voluntarily. This transaction greatly offended the governor and merchants of Mocha, and they formed a design to make captain Andrews restore the ship, which he suspecting, fled aboard, leaving his colours flying in the factory:

These continued depredations brought on a war with the Mogul, and Sedec Yacoup, his general, having demanded restitution for the damages sustained by his master's subjects, on receiving many uncivil answers to his demands, landed at a place called Souree, about four miles from the main fort of Bombay, with 20,000 men. Our general's security made him neglect providing for the reception of such guests. The Sedec landed about midnight, when the redoubt  
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fired a gun to give the alarm, and deserted their post, of which he took possession. Next morning, the Sedee marched to Massagun, a small fort of fourteen guns, about a random shot distant from the castle. On their approach, the fort, tho' situated on a rock, and defended by the sea, was deserted with such precipitancy, that ten chests of treasure, containing 1000*l.* each, and four chests of arms, were left behind, as a present to Sedee Yacoup, with fourteen cannon, two mortars, powder, shot, and shells. From hence we may plainly see, that the ancient way of fishing in troubled waters at Bombay, was well known to the officer, who was never called to account for the oversight. Sedee, finding no opposition here, sent a party of men to plunder the poor peasants, and take another fort, called Mahim, which he thought might be abandoned also; nor was he mistaken, for the garrison had embarked in boats, and came by sea to Bombay, without seeing the enemy. The next day some of the Sedee's men appeared on Massagun hills, and it much grieved our general's righteous soul, to see infidels come to visit him in this hostile manner.

The Sedee, being now in possession of the whole island, excepting the castle; our general growing sick of the war, dispatched two factors and a merchant to the Mogul's court, under the character of English ambassadors, where they were

at first but coldly received; but about the middle of April following, by the assistance of some of the head officers at court, and presents, they were admitted to an audience; but were brought into Aurengzeb's presence in an odd manner, their hands being tied in a fash before them, and they obliged to prostrate themselves. The Emperor gave them a severe reprimand, then asked their business. They first confessed their faults, and asked pardon; then desired their phirmaund might be renewed, and the Sedee's army be recalled from Bombay. This was granted, on condition Mr. Child should leave India in nine months, and never more return; that then the phirmaund should be renewed, provided satisfaction was given for the debts contracted, Robberies committed, &c.

In January following Child died, which greatly facilitated their affairs, and Bombay was governed by a deputy. After the treaty was signed, the new president was obliged to reside at Surat, and of about 800 English, who inhabited the place before, not above sixty survived the sword and plague. Thus Bombay, one of the most delightful islands in India, became a dismal desert.

A new charter of regulations was granted to the East India company, in the reign of king William and queen Mary, whereby they were empowered to take in a subscrip-  
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tion of 144,000 l. The company was also obliged to make public sales by inch of candle; to export annually 100,000 l. of the manufactures of this kingdom, and to furnish the crown yearly with 500 tons of the best salt-petre, at the rate of 38 l. 10 s. per ton in time of peace, and 45 l. per ton in time of war; they were likewise directed to make no dividend upon their joint stock, but in money only. This charter was to continue for 21 years, provided the company complied exactly with the rules therein prescribed; otherwise all their powers and privileges might be taken away.

In pursuance of this proviso, another charter of regulation was granted to the company in 1694, by which it was prescribed, that the governor, &c. should present to the privy council annually, in the month of August, a true account of the nature, quantity, value, and prime cost of the manufactures of this country, by them exported, and from what place; and this upon the oaths of proper officers of the said company, &c. But notwithstanding all these charters of regulation, yet were they never so precarious as at this juncture; for, on the one hand, their right and authority were warmly disputed, by such as had a mind to trade to the East Indies, without regard had to the company's charter, and who, by them, were stiled interlopers: on the other hand, the government wanted money, and there-

therefore the ministry struck in with the other party, and for the sake of more money, promoted the ruin of those grants which they had been most exorbitantly paid for procuring.

Thus, in the reign of king William, a new East India company was incorporated by act of Parliament, they having advanced to the government two millions, for which they at first had 8 per cent. interest out of the funds assigned for that purpose: but this interest was soon reduced to 5 per cent. And now the old and new companies, for the prevention of divers inconveniencies, agreed upon articles of union, and became one body.

After the Mogul had pardoned all robberies and murders committed on his subjects, the English settled at Calcuta, or Fort William. Mr. Job Channock, being then the company's agent at Bengal, having obtain'd liberty to erect an Emporium, in any part of the river side below Hughly, and, for the sake of a large shady tree, chose that place, than which he could not have picked out a more unhealthy situation. However, he reigned here more absolute than a Rajah, tho' he had not so much humanity; for when any poor native transgressed his laws, they were sure to undergo a severe corporal punishment, which was generally executed near his dining-room, and about such time as he was at

at dinner, that their groans and cries might serve him for music.

This agency continued till 1705, and then became a split government, the old and the new company's servants governing weekly by turns. This double and irregular government continued at Calcuta till 1709, when Mr. Welden arrived with a commission from the united companies to settle it at Bombay and Fort St. George. His time of governing was very short, and he took a short method of enriching himself, by harrassing the people, of which take the following singular instance. A poor seafaring man had a beautiful Mustic wife, who, during her husband's absence, was a little inclined to lewdness. She entertained two Armenians, who were like to have had a quarrel about sharing her favours; the governor being informed of this affair, reprimanded them; but, by the prevailing power of 500 rupees paid in hand by one of them, he awarded, that this should have the sole right to her. He accordingly took possession of his purchase, carried her to Hughly, and publicly declared what she cost him, to the great credit of the governor; and when the husband returned, he was obliged to lose his mate, under the pain of flagellation. About 50 yards from Fort William stands the church; but ministers of the gospel being subject to mortality, the young merchants

chants are frequently obliged to officiate, for which they have a salary of 50 l. per annum. The governor's house in the fort is the most regular piece of building in India. The company have a pretty good hospital at Calcuta, where many go in, but very few come out alive: most of the inhabitants, that make any tolerable figure, have the use of the company's gardens, for herbs and fruit, after the governor's table is provided for: all sorts of provisions, both wild and tame, are cheap and good here, as also is cloathing.

The gentlemen and ladies in Bengal live splendidly and pleasantly, dedicating the forenoon to business, after dinner to rest, and the evening to diversion: the garrison of Fort William generally consists of about 300 soldiers, more for conveying the company's goods from Patana, than for the defence of the fort: for as they hold their colony in fee-tail of the Mogul, they are not in any danger of enemies. All religions, except the Presbyterian, are tolerated in Calcuta. The Pagans carry their idols in procession thro' the town: the Catholics have their church to lodge their's in; and the Mahometans are not discountenanced; but there are no Polemics, except what are between the governor's party and private merchants on points of Trade. The company's colony is limited by a land-mark at Barnagul, and

and another at Gavernapore, being about six miles distant from each other. It may contain about 12,000 souls; the company's revenues are pretty good, and well paid, arising from ground-rents, and consulage on all goods imported and exported by British subjects; but all other nations are free.

About the beginning of the reign of George I. various attempts were made to find out the secrets of the company's commerce, for the information of strangers. To remedy this evil, a law was made, by a statute of the fifth year of his reign, to render such practices impossible. But notwithstanding the severe penalties by this act ordained, it had not the desired effect; for our East India company having, for several years, divided 10 per cent. on their capital, which in most foreign countries was looked upon as the profits arising from their trade, it produced such an emulation of sharing in this commerce, and so many Englishmen were found ready to join in such projects abroad, that a company was established at Ostend, which made another act necessary to be passed in the 9th year of the same reign; whereby it was enacted, that if any British subject should contribute towards the establishing any company trading from any part of the Austrian Netherlands, to and from the East Indies, or other parts beyond the Cape of Good Hope, or should have  
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any share in the stock of the said company, he should forfeit the said stock, and treble the value thereof, &c.

The English have extended their trade with great success in the island of Sumatra, having not only a good settlement at Achen, but also at the other end of this island, where their principal settlement was Bencoolen, which first became considerable in 1685. It is situate about thirty miles to the east of Achen, and known to the seamen by a high mountain of a pyramidical form, about twenty miles within land, called the Sugar Loaf. The town is two miles in circumference, inhabited chiefly by the natives, who build their houses on pillars, on account of the annual floods. The place is subject to earthquakes, and is extremely sickly. Multitudes of the English have perished here, and deaths are so frequent, that they cease to be terrible. This, says our author, induced the company to build Fort Marlbro', so called from that general's great successes in Flanders in queen Anne's reign, about which time it was first erected. It stands on an elevated situation, about three miles east of Bencoolen, and is so much the more healthful; that one of the governors assured our author, for the space of a year they did not bury a man.

We shall now take a succinct view of the company's possessions in India, and the state of  
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of their commerce as it stands at present, with all possible brevity: and begin with Gombroon on the coast of Persia. This city was built by the great Shah Abas. It stands in the latitude of 27 deg. 40 min. north, and is esteemed a port of the greatest trade in this part of the world; where the commerce of the English was first established in 1613. The great Shah Abas having, at that time, an occasion for our assistance against the Portuguese, granted us, by treaties during the course of this war, half the customs of this port, which amounted to 3333 l. 6 s. 8 d. sterling per annum: but this money, as we believe, has been but indifferently paid for 50 years past; so that we have the right only, but not the possession: tho' the company still maintains a grand factory here, by which the whole trade of the Persian empire is carried on, and we export thither a vast quantity of European manufactures.

The city of Mooha is situated at the mouth of the Red Sea, in 13 deg. 11 min. west lat. and is a place of great trade in coffee and other commodities, from the adjacent parts of Arabia. We have also forts, factories, or settlements at the places following, namely, Swally, Surat, Bombay, Baroach, Carwar, Dabul, Anjengo, Telliche-ry, Conymere, and Fort St. David, all along the coast of Malabar, and running up to  
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those of Coromandel. Come we next to the capital of our possessions in the Indies, we mean Fort St. George, which requires a more particular description.

Fort St. George, otherwise Maderas, is a colony belonging to the East India company, and very ill, tho' commodiously situated. It fronts the sea, and lies on the coast of Coromandel. It is founded on a sandy soil, with a salt-water river on the backside, which obstructs all springs; so that they have no drinkable water within a mile: the sea threatens destruction on one side, and the river, in a rainy season, inundations on the other. From April to September the sun is scorching hot, and if the sea breezes did not cool the air, the place could not possibly be habitable. The fruits, roots, and herbage they have, are brought to maturity with great trouble and expence. This colony was first settled, as we apprehend, by Sir William Langborn, who having a favourite mistress at St. Thomas's, of whom he was much enamoured, was by her induced to build here, that their interviews might be more frequent; otherwise he would certainly have chosen Caledon, about six leagues to the southward, or Policat, about nine leagues to the northward, where the soil is good, and the river commodious in all seasons.

The town is divided into two parts; one, where the Europeans live, is called the White Town, and walled all round. There are

two



two churches, one for Protestants, the other for Papists. They have a good hospital, and a town hall, under which is a prison for debtors. The city had laws and ordinances, and a court was formerly kept in form before the mayor and aldermen, with attornies and solicitors to plead; but it is now all a farce, for I have found by experience, says our author, that a few pagadoes will turn the scale of justice to which side the governor pleases, without regard had to equity or reputation; and his dispensing power of nulling all that the court transacts, puzzles the most famous lawyers amongst them; to find rules to justify such arbitrary proceedings.

The company has a mint here for coining bullion into ruppes, which brings them in a good revenue. The diamond mines of Golconda are but a week's journey from Fort St. George, which colony may be very properly looked upon as an emblem of Holland, for it produces little of its own growth or manufacture to send to foreign markets, but supplies them with foreign goods. It is supposed, that there are in the town and village 80,000 inhabitants, among whom are generally about 500 Europeans residing here, including gentlemen, merchants, seamen and soldiers. Their rice is brought from Ganjam and Orixá; their wheat from Surat and Bengal; and their fire-wood from

the islands of Diu. Most of the powder expended in the garrison, is made about a gun-shot from the town; but has not the force of that which comes from England, notwithstanding they have the finest saltpetre and brimstone, with good charcoal; but they know not how to incorporate the ingredients to make the best powder; and these excellencies are here of no effect. But to proceed.

Along the coast of Coromandel, to the northward, there were formerly several European factories; but the Rajahs, giving great interruptions to trade, by their unreasonable impositions, obliged them to withdraw. That of Massulapatam was the last they quitted, which about seventy years ago was esteemed the most flourishing colony we had in India. Next to this is Narsipore, where the company had a factory for long cloth, for the use of the former, when they manufactured chints there. A little up Carrango bay is Angerang, which has the advantage of a large and deep river, that runs far up into the continent. At this place is made the finest cloth that India affords. Between the two places last mentioned are several little ports, of which Wahoo is the most noted, as it produces rice for exportation; tho' now not much frequented by the Europeans; we proceed therefore to Vizagapatam, a fortified factory belonging

ing to the English, with four bastions, and eighteen guns mounted in it. The country about it affords the best cotton cloths, both fine and coarse, and the best striped muslins in India: but the factory is generally heart-sick for want of money.

This factory drew a war upon itself in 1709, from the Nabob of Chickacul. Mr. Simeon Halcomb, who had been chief here, borrowed large Sums of the Nabob, and set the company's seal to the bonds; but he dying, this prince demanded his money of his successor, which he refused to pay, alledging, that Mr. Halcomb converted it to his own use. Upon this the Nabob sent agents to the governor of Fort St. George, to acquaint him of this affairs, but he proved deaf to all their arguments, and hardly treated them civilly. On their return with this account, the Nabob came to a garden, about a league from Vizagapatam, with 500 horse, and 35,000 foot, to demand his debts. This war continuing longer than was at first imagined, and the expence rising higher than was expected, inclined them to peace, which was brought about by the company's paying near the whole sum demanded: but the Nabob would not come into these terms, unless the company's merchant, who was a subject of the Mogul, and very active in the war, should be delivered up to him; which he at last was, and put

to a cruel death. He was set in the scorching sun for three days, with his hands fastened to a stake over his head, and one of his legs tied up till the heel touched his buttock, and at night put into a dungeon among venomous snakes. This was repeated till the third night, when he died.

Now all being quiet, the Nabob returned to Chickacul, but could not forgive the insult his agents met with at Fort St. George; and finding it not possible to get possession of that factory by force, he determined to surprise it, and came into the place one day with 100 horse, and some foot, without giving any previous notice to the governor. Before they were aware of him, he entered the factory with twenty or thirty attendants. The alarm being given, Mr. Richard Harding, a bold young gentleman, and factor in the company's service, came running downstairs with his piece charged and cocked, the bayonet screwed in the muzzel, and presented it to the Nabob's breast, telling him, in the Gentow language, that if any of his attendants offered the least incivility, his life should pay for it. The Nabob, surprized at the bravery of this young gentleman, sat down and paused a while, Mr. Harding keeping his piece in the same position, and one of the Nabob's servants standing behind him with the point of a dagger close to his back. They conferred together in this posture for half

half an hour, when the Nabob went out again, amazed at the young gentleman's intrepidity.

We come next to the river of Ballasore, between which and the river Cunnaca is a continued sandy bay, where are prodigious numbers of tortoises, and a very delicious fish, called the pamplee, some of which in shells are sold at 2 d. a hundred, tho' two are sufficient to dine a moderate man. The town of Ballasore is but four miles from the sea by land, but twenty by water. The country is exceeding fruitful, producing rice, wheat, gram, doll, callavancees, pulse, annis, cummin, coriander, and carraway-seeds; tobacco, butter, oil, and bees-wax. Their manufactures are of cotton in sanis, mulmuls, dimities, silks, gingham, pinafco's, and several other goods for exportation. The English, French, and Dutch, have here their respective factories; which are at this time of little consequence, tho' the town of Ballasore still continues to carry on a pretty good trade to the Maldives. From April to October is the proper time for ships to come into the bay of Bengal; pilots lie ready at Ballasore to take them up the river Hughly. The sides of this river are overgrown with bushes, and afford shelter for tygers, which are very fierce, and do much mischief. An author of known veracity asserts, that he knew an Englishman, who was in a ship's

ship's boat, and had the curiosity to go ashore here to ease himself; but no sooner put himself in a proper posture under a bush, than out leaped a tyger, and took him hold by both buttocks to carry him off. One of the seamen in the boat, observing the danger of his ship-mate, snatched up a musket, and shot the tyger in the head, while the man was in his mouth. The tyger instantly loosed him, and went into cover, when the wounded person was carried on board his ship, where the surgeon made a perfect cure of the wound.

We shall conclude this chapter with observing, that as this beneficial commerce has induced other nations to interfere; and as we cannot bid the Dutch dissolve their company, or persuade the French, Swedes, Danes, or Prussians, from trading to India, we must contrive to support the acquisitions made by our company, in that part of the world, so as they may turn out to our advantage, by engaging them to take off as great a quantity of our manufactures as possible, by encouraging to the utmost, the exportation of such goods and manufactures as the company brings home; and lastly, by preventing at all events the smuggling of Indian commodities into these kingdoms.

## C H A P. IV.

*A brief account of the Dutch East India company's settlements, factories, &c.*

**T**HE first charter granted to the Dutch East India company was dated March 20, 1602, and was to continue 21 years. When this expired, a second was granted for the same term, excepting, that it should commence from the 1st of January, 1623. Two more charters of the same import were successively obtained: but in the year 1698, the company thought proper to solicit another charter, for 40 years, from the expiration of the last in being; and in 1717, they applied for new favours, but were not able to get a new charter: however, they procured a placart, by which the states general forbade their subjects to send any ships to the East Indies, or any were within the limits of the company's charter, without the licence of the company first had for that purpose; which precautions were thought necessary for preserving this rich and beneficial commerce.

About the time their charter was to be renewed, there happened some Disturbance in the Indies, which had like to have been of fatal consequence to their establishment, and we have not hitherto had any account of these transactions that can be depended upon.

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But however this affair might be, it made a prodigious noise in Europe. The charter of the company, when it was very near expiring in 1740, was renewed only for one year; since which time, all affairs in the Indies have been adjusted at home, to the satisfaction of the states general and the company.

Their whole possessions in India are divided into governments and directions in manner following. 1. Batavia, the capital, where the governor-general resides, to whom, and his council, all the governments and directions are subordinate; namely, Japan, a chief-ship, Tonquin, ditto; Macassar, a commandant; Siam, a chief-ship; Bantam, a factory; Jambes, a chief-ship; Palembang ditto; Arrakan, ditto; 2. Amboyna, a government, under this are many islands, to which they pay a yearly sum to the inhabitants, not to suffer cloves or other spices to grow. 3. Banda, a government, under which also are several islands; to the natives of which the Dutch pay money yearly to destroy the spice growing upon them. 4. Ternate, is a government. 5. Molucca, a government. 6. Ceylon, a government; where are many factories, and all their accounts are sent to Columbo, which is the principal place in the island. 7. Cochin, a government; under which lies the Malabar coast. 8. Policat, a government; under which



which are the coast of Coromandel and Pegu. 9. Bengal, a direction; under which are all the factories in that Bay; and of these Hugly is the chief, from whence all their accounts are transmitted to Batavia. 10. Surat, another direction; under which are many factories. 11. Persia, a direction; their chief residence being Gombroon; under it are Isfahan and Bassora. 12. Cape of Good Hope, a government; under which are the Maurizias.

Before we begin to give a description of such of these places as have not been before described, the reader must observe, that by governments, we mean, places of their own; by directions, those which are subject to a foreign power. Next to Batavia, Ceylon is the best government, being the fairest and most fertile of all the Asiatic islands. It is situated between 6 deg. and 10 deg. north latitude, in length about 55 leagues, and 30 in breadth. It is so delightful a place, that many have believed it to be the seat of the Terrestrial Paradise, and it is certain, that the inhabitants think so; which they pretend to prove, by shewing, at this time, the tomb of Adam, and the print of his foot, on a mountain called the Pike of Adam, which is one of the highest mountains in India. On another mountain there is a salt lake, which they affirm was caused by the tears of Eve, in her 100 years weeping for

for the death of Abel. Upon the tomb is an epitaph which nobody can read. Abundance of travellers have copied the letters, but to no purpose, which, says our author, is an evidence it was written in the primitive language, and before the confusion of tongues. Some learned men are of opinion, that this language consisted in the five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u*, in which is contained the name of the living God, viz. J E O V A, and of which five letters, it is impossible to compose any other word, in any language whatsoever. It is reported that Mr. Muller, Provost of Stettin, well versed in this science, offered to discover a key to all languages to the states general, for a certain sum of money; but the affair of the purchase being drawn out to a tedious length, this great man died, and the important secret was buried with him. Epiphanius says, that Adam, when driven out of Paradise, went to dwell in the neighbourhood of Damascus, and there dying, was buried in the mountain Golgotha, where his scull was afterwards found; and that for this reason, the mountain was, in succeeding ages, called Calvary: But this opinion, says our author, seems not to be well founded; for the earth, being broken to pieces in most parts by the deluge, the tomb of Adam, wheresoever it was, could not retain its first situation: it seems to me, therefore, adds he, that the epitaph  
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In the island of Ceylon, regards Noah, or some of his family, who established his dominions in this island; and by a figure natural enough in the oriental language, might be stiled the father of mankind.

The air of Ceylon is hot, but very wholesome. The country abounds with most excellent fruit of all kinds; likewise with fish and fowl of all kinds, both wild and tame. Here are elephants, much larger than in any other place in the Indies; also tygers, bears, civet-cats, apes, &c. But, that for which this island is most esteemed, is its cinnamon, which is far the best in all Asia. Cinnamon, properly speaking, is the inner bark of a tree, which resembles an orange-tree, the flowers of which are like those of the laurel. There are three sorts of cinnamon, the finest is taken from young trees, a coarser sort from the old ones, and wild cinnamon. The company also drives a great trade in oil drawn from spice, which is very dear. They gain considerably likewise by precious stones that are found in Ceylon. Here is also, on the coast of this island, a fine pearl fishery, which turns to great advantage. This is let to farm twice a year to negro merchants. The pearl oysters lie at the bottom of the sea, and the fishery is carried on only in fair weather, in the following manner: the diver has a cord, which comes under his arms, and is made fast to

the boat, and he has a large stone fastened to his feet, that he may sink the quicker, with a bag about his waist, to put the oysters into. As soon as he gets to the bottom, he fills his sack as fast as possible, and when he would come up, he pulls hard another cord; upon this signal, he is drawn up as fast as possible by those in the boat, while he lets go the stones from his feet that he may rise the faster.

The inhabitants are called Cingolesians. They are very tall, of a very dark complexion, and their ears exceeding large, which is owing to the ornaments they wear in them. They are brave, hardy and good soldiers. They in general profess the Mahometan religion; but yet there are some amongst them, who are idolaters and worship cows and calves. They are particularly remarkable for their skill in taming elephants, which answer the end of our horses, and in time of peace draw and carry burdens; but in time of war, are formidable against the enemy.

Having, in the former part of this work, given our readers a full account of Batavia, Amboyna, Celebes, Molucca and the Cape of Good Hope, we proceed to the island of Ternate, the last government in the company's disposal, and the most distant of all the factories they have in the East. This island is of a large extent, and the king of it

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is the best ally the company have. His country would abound with cloves, if, at the request of the company, he did not cause them to be rooted up every year, for which they pay him annually a pension of 20,000 rix-dollars. He has concluded a perpetual alliance with the company, by which he is obliged to assist them against all their enemies, which he punctually performs, and on the other hand the Dutch treat him with the utmost respect, and afford him whatsoever he stands in need of. The island in general is fruitful, abounding with all sorts of provisions, and whatever else is requisite to make life happy. The company dispose of vast quantities of cloth here indeed, and of such goods as they receive from Guiney, but notwithstanding this, the tortoise-shell, and other commodities they receive in return, scarcely amount to so much as will defray the expences of the government; and yet there is a promising prospect, it will for the future turn to a better account, because a few years ago, there was discovered a gold mine much richer than any in the Moluccas.

As to the inhabitants, they are of a middle size, but strong and active, and much better affected to the Europeans than any of their neighbours. In point of religion they are all Pagans and Mahometans; tho' of late some of them are become Christians.

which is occasioned by the king's professing that religion. They make here a sort of palm-wine, called seggeweer; a small quantity of which will intoxicate a man, for which reason it is highly esteemed. In this island are some of the most beautiful birds that can be seen; their feathers are of all colours, and so finely diversified, that it is scarce possible to conceive any thing more charming to the sight. They are in general sent to Batavia and sold very dear, not only on account of their beauty, but of their docility; for they are taught to sing any tune, and to talk any language. From this island are also brought birds of Paradise, of which tho' we have already spoken, yet we shall add somewhat as to their different species. The common birds of Paradise are yellow, and including the tail not above eight inches long; the second sort are the red, the third the blue, and the fourth black. These last are by far the most beautiful, and of the greatest value. On their heads they have a tuft of feathers, which they suffer to lie flat, or raise at pleasure. I once saw, says our author, one of these birds so exquisitely beautiful, that it was made a present to the king.

The company, besides governments, has taken care to establish factories in all the countries where their affairs require, with a council

council to superintend them. The directories of Coromandel, Surat, Bengal, and Persia are of great consequence, and the direction of them is attended with great profit. That of Coromandel is the first of the four, and has all the forts upon the coast within its jurisdiction. But in Coromandel the English and Danes have a share, and good fortresses built to protect their trade. The chief trade carried on here consists in cottons, muslins, chintzes, and such kind of goods; in exchange for which, the Dutch give them spices, japan-copper, steel, gold-dust, Sandal and Siampan woods. During the East monsoons the weather here is exceeding hot; yet the country is fertile in rice, fruits, herbs, and all other necessaries of life.

The second and third directories are fixed at Onglia, and in the city of Surat, which two places are the most considerable for trade in all Asia; where the English, French, Dutch, and other Europeans traffic, and have erected forts for the security of their commerce. The best part of the trade is carried on by negro merchants, who deal in diamonds, opium, all kinds of cotton-cloths, and other rich merchandise. Both these places are in the territories of the Great Mogul, of whose dominions we shall here give our readers a brief description.

INDIA within Ganges, or the empire of the Great Mogul, is of a vast extent, and his country is esteemed the richest in the known world; to which at this day the natives give the name of Indostan, the present princes deriving their pedigree from Tamerlane, the Great Mogul Tartar. The name of India is given by the Europeans to all those countries which lie between the river Ganges and China. This country, taking in 33 deg. of latitude passes thro' many climates, consequently the air is different. The northern and midland provinces enjoy a temperate air, while those in the south are parched with heat, particularly in April and May; when the winds blow over a tract of burning sand for several hundred miles.

Most of the inhabitants are tall, black, strong men, of a lively disposition; but as there is a variety of climates, so is there a vast variety of inhabitants and complexions. In the north, where the Moors reside, the people are white: towards the south, quite through the middle of India, they are black as jet, with long shining black hair, and fine features, nothing like the Guinea blacks. On the coast they are of a tawney, or olive complexion, and there is a mixed breed of all these compounded together. The Monguls and Moors, with the descendants of the Arabs, are all Mahometans. The blacks are all Pagans, of whom they reckon up 60 or



80 classes, that will never intermarry or eat with each other. Some of these sects of idolaters firmly believe the transmigration of souls, for which reason they will not kill any creature living, not even a flea or a fly. Nay, they establish hospitals for worn-out oxen and cows, where they are fed till they die of age or disease.

Their principal fruit-trees are the palm, cocoa, tamarind, pine-apple, orange, lemon, guava, mango, plantain, pomegranate, and melon; all which they have in great perfection. The country also produces wheat, rice, pepper, and a great variety of garden stuff. Here are elephants, camels, horses, oxen, buffaloes, sheep, deer, lions, tygers, and all manner of wild beasts and game, with plenty of fish and fowl; also serpents, scorpions, moskito's, locusts, and shining flies, which appear like stars upon the trees in the night.

The men wear a vest girt about with a sash, and a turbant on their heads; but the common men in the south go quite naked. The women have a whole piece of muslin or callico tied about their waist, and thrown over their breast and shoulders; and their hair is dressed with abundance of glittering trinkets. They wear bracelets on their arms and legs, rings on their fingers and toes, a jewel in their nose, which falls upon the lip, and pendants in their ears: the men  
also

also have bracelets on their arms, of gold if they can afford it, if not, of some other metal; and every man of fashion carries a dagger in his fash.

Surat lies in 21 deg. and a few minutes north latitude, and is inhabited by three nations, being watered by the river Tapti. It is a town of no great antiquity, not more than 120 years old; about five miles in circumference within the walls, and contains by computation 200,000 inhabitants. Many of the Moorish and Indian merchants are prodigiously rich. About thirty years ago there died a Moorish merchant, who fitted out annually twenty sail of ships, the cargoes of which ran from 10 to 20,000 l. each; and he had always goods in his magazines of equal value to those he exported. The customs of Surat amount to upwards of 160,000 l. The things most remarkable about this town are a large wall built by a Banian, with many thin arches over it. On the outside is the figure of a red face, which the Gentiles say, is the pagod of Madeo, and pay to it great adoration. Towards Daman gate begins the finest walk in all the country; near which is a reservoir of water. It has six angles, every one of them a hundred paces long, and is at least a musket-shot in diameter. There are steps all round it in form of an amphitheatre, curiously wrought, from the top to the bottom.

of

of fine free-stone, with which the bottom is also paved. It was made at the expence of the Bahjan aforementioned, to catch rain water to supply the town. About a mile and half from the reservatory is the princess's garden, belonging to the Great Mogul's sister, which is pleasant enough, tho' far short of that grandeur, which is found amongst the royal gardens in Europe. Not a hundred yards from hence is a tree, called the tree of roots; it is large and tall, being eighty paces in diameter; the branches which have taken root under it are so artfully cut, that one may walk all about it. The Indians account it sacred, and the Bahjans have placed banners on the top branches. Near it is a pagod, dedicated to an idol named Maneva, which is conjectured to be Eve.

In the road from Surat to Agra, through Amanabad, we passed, says Tavernier, over a country full of corn, rice, millet, and sugar-canes, where, having ferried over a river which falls into the gulph of Cambaya, we came to Baroche. This city is very famous for trade, on account of the river, that has a peculiar quality to whiten cottons, which are, for that reason, brought from all parts of the Mogul's territories; besides, here are made vast quantities of large pieces of cotton, very close woven, and fine; the price is from four to a hundred rupees.

rupees. The English president has a very stately edifice in this city. Here are a sort of flight-of-hand-men, or mountebanks, who do strange things. They will heat a chain red hot, and wrap it round their naked bodies, and pretend they feel great pain; but, in truth, receive no harm at all. But what is still more wonderful, they will thrust a dry stick into the ground, and, in less than half an hour, make it a tree of four or five feet high, bearing leaves and flowers as in the spring.

Cambaya is a large city, in the province of Guzerat, as big again as Surat, tho' not so populous. From hence it is we have the agate cups that come from India, knife-hafts, beads, &c. The agate is taken out of a quarry, about four leagues from the city, in pieces as big as a man's fist. The suburbs of Cambaya are as big as the town, and in them they make indigo. There are a vast number of peacocks in the territories of Cambaya, which walk about the fields in the day-time, and roost upon trees. In those places governed by Mahometans, you may catch them without danger; but where the Banians rule, it is accounted sacrilege. They whipped a Persian merchant to death, and took away his money, which amounted to 300,000 rupees, for shooting one of them. From Cambaya, we went thro' a village where there was a pagod, says our author,

to

to which the Indian courtesans make their offerings; and among many naked images, there is one resembling Apollo, with his privy parts bare. The young girls who are trained up in this wicked business by the old ones, give themselves up to this idol, believing it will help them to good fortune. Amanadabad is 82 leagues from Surat, built in a delightful plain, and watered by a little river. Without the town are many large gardens, inclosed with brick walls, and every one of them has a kind of pavilion at the entrance. Near these is a reservatory of water, in the midst of which is a delightful garden, eighty paces square, into which you go over a bridge 400 paces long, and at the end of the garden are good lodgings; you come next to a kind of large village, from hence thro' a street which leads you into the town. The castle is well walled round, and near it is the king's palace, which has over the gate a large balcony for musicians, who play there every six hours. The apartments are adorned with gold paintings. The English factory is in the middle of the town, and hath very fair courts. The Mahometans have many mosques, and the Pagans their idol-temples, in this city. The pagod of Sandidos was the chief, before Aurengzeb the Great Mogul turned it into a mosque. It hath three courts paved with marble, and is surrounded with galleries. Into

Into the third court none enter till they pull off their shoes. The inside is adorned with Mosaic work, and agates of divers colours. The Banjans have a great veneration for apes, and some breed them up in their pagods to worship, nor will they suffer any to be killed. There is one thing very remarkable, says our author; every tuesday and friday, being their chief days of worship, all the apes join in a body and come into the city, lying upon the tops of houses, when the people never fail to set ready, in their terrasses, rice, millet, sugar-canes, and the like; for if they find not provisions, they will pull off the tiles, and do great mischief.

Visiapour is the metropolis of a kingdom of the same name, which is a great rambling city, five leagues in circumference. The king's palace also is very large, but ill built, and dangerous of access, on account of the number of crocodiles in a ditch wherewith it is encompassed. So that here is nothing remarkable as to the public edifices or trade, we shall therefore pass on to Golconda, which is about fifteen leagues from Visiapour.

The city of Golconda is the capital of that province, and the residence of the king; and tho' both he and the king of Visiapour were formerly tributary to the Great Mogul, yet they are now absolute. The air is whole-

wholesome, and the city is well built: On entering into it you pass thro' a large suburb, where the houses are built with earth, and thatched. It is at least a league in length, and in it dwell all the merchants, brokers, artificers, &c. who are allowed to go into the city at ten o'clock in the morning, and stay till five in the afternoon, and then return to their own houses. The way to the fortress lies thro' these suburbs, from whence you go over a beautiful stone bridge into a large street that leads to the king's palace; at the end of this street is a large piazza, in the middle of which building is the balcony, where the king gives audience to the people. The palace is 380 paces in length, and ends in a very lofty pavilion; the walls are of large stones, which have half towers at proper distances. It is very pleasant within, and the water rises up to the highest apartments. No man enters the palace without the king's express orders, so that few come near it. If a stranger comes to the gates, a soldier searches him, to see if he has any salt or tobacco about him, that the king may not be defrauded of his duties. There are 20,000 common women allowed here, who pay no tax, but are the means of venting much Tari, a liquor as strong as our geneva, but sweeter, on which is laid a heavy duty; for which reason they are encouraged in these practices. They dance

every friday before the king's balcony. They stand well dressed at their doors in the day-time, and set up lamps for a signal at night to draw in men, and it is no scandal to converse with them.

The common people are obliged, by marriage-contract, to let their wives walk in the streets, visit their neighbours, and drink Tari. This province may be called the country of diamonds, from which mines the king raises a vast revenue. This prince wears upon his head a jewel almost a foot long, of inestimable value. It is a rose of large diamonds, three or four inches diameter; on the top of which is a little crown, and out of it rises a branch, fashioned like that of a palm-tree, about an inch diameter, and half a foot long. It is made up of sprigs, which resemble leaves, and each of them have at the end a lovely long pearl, in shape like a pear. At the foot of this posy are two bands of gold like table bracelets, incased with large diamonds, set round with rubies, which, with great pearls that hang down on all sides, make a magnificent show, and these bands have clasps of diamonds to fasten the jewels to the head.

We shall conclude this chapter with an account of the Mogul's camp, for he lives in the field during the fair season, which continues five months; when, besides the military men, which amount to above

100,000



100,000, and who carry their wives and families with them, he is attended by most of the great men in the empire, and followed by all manner of merchants and tradesmen, from the capital cities, amounting in the whole to upwards of a million of people. With these he makes a tour of 1000 miles every year, through part of his dominions, and hears the complaints of the meanest of his subjects, if they happen to be oppress'd by his viceroy or governors. There is a caravan of ten thousand camels and oxen that constantly attend the camp, and bring in provisions from every part of the country. The commander of this caravan is stiled a prince, and is vested with great power, as his office is to furnish the court and camp with provisions. This camp is at least twenty miles in circumference, and in a round form; the Mogul's tent, and those of his women, being on an eminence in the middle, and separated from the rest by an inclosure. Beyond this are the nobility, generals, and people of distinction in another circle, and they succeed in circles, according to their rank or quality; the inferior people being on the outside of the camp. But we must not forget to mention the antiquities in the island of Salsette, opposite to Bombay, which all writers take notice of; particularly an ancient temple cut out of a rock, and ascended by a vast number of steps

cut out of the same rock, the roof is arched, the door and columns grand. It consists of three isles, part of them covered by a cupola: it is replenished with such images as the Indians still worship. In another small island near this, there is the figure of an elephant cut out of the rock, as big as the life, from whence the island is called Elephanta. The Pagans generally write on the cocoa or palm-tree leaves, with an iron stile, or bodkin. Besides the Bramin language, the Malabar and Jentow tongues, are commonly spoken by the Pagans.

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## C H A P. V.

*A concise account of the French East India company, with as brief a description of its present circumstances both at home and abroad.*

**L**EWIS XII. July 2, 1615, granted letters patents to the merchants engaged in this project, with exclusive privileges, to erect a company to trade to India. These letters were registered in parliament the second of September following, in consequence of which they began to fit out ships, and actually possessed themselves of the island of Madagascar, which was at that time considered as a very great acquisition. But this, instead of facilitating their commerce to the  
Indies,

# A VIEW of the SILK MANUFACTURE in CHINA.

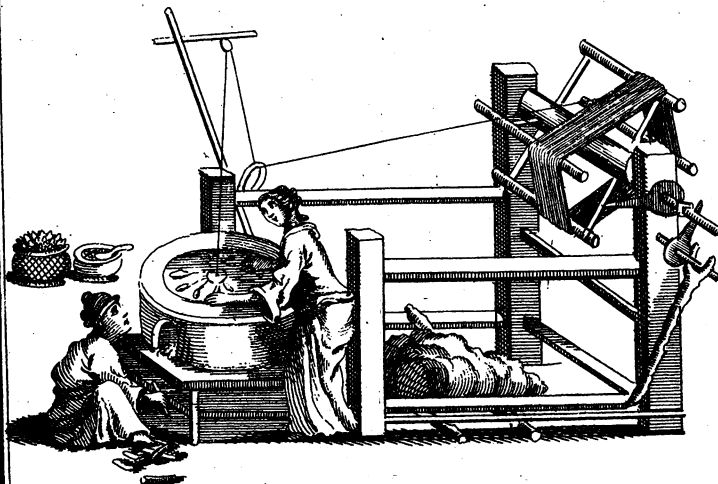


*Taking the Cods from y Mats after smother'd in the Earthen Pots.*

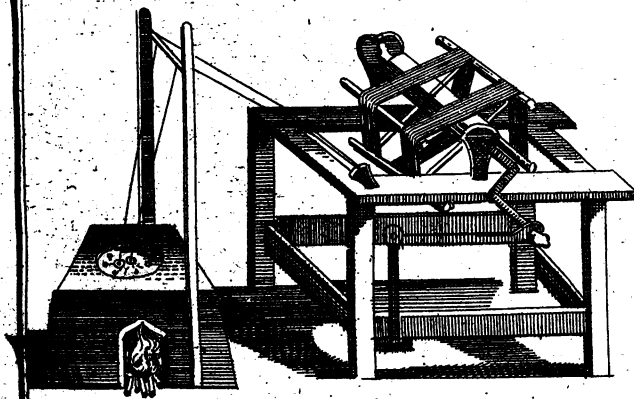
*Balneum Mariae to kill the Worms in the Cods*



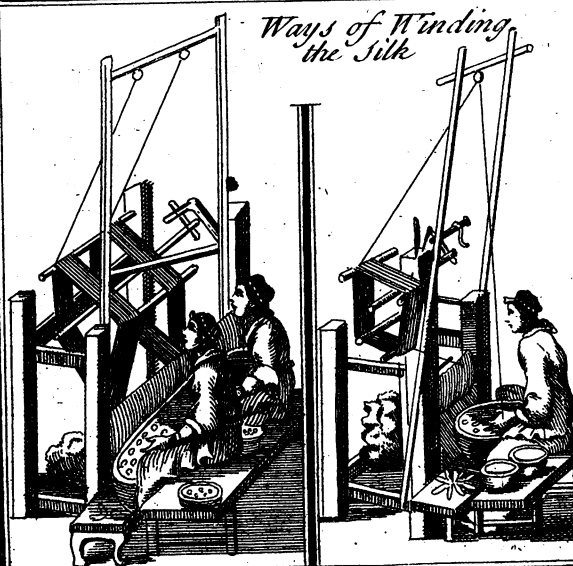
*Winding from the Cods in the Cauldron.*



*Winding from the Cods in a Copper of Warm Water.*



*Ways of Winding the Silk*



*Hanging up y Sheets of Paper with Eggs on them*





Indies, proved the ruin of it under that establishment; the trade and possession of that island being of little consequence.

The famous Colbert, so much distinguished by Lewis XIV. conceived a design to revive the French East India company, notwithstanding all the misfortunes the former scheme had met with, and which over and over had disappointed the skill of his predecessors. After he was well instructed in the affair by such merchants and seamen who were held to understand the subject best, and had sufficiently ripened his project, he reduced it into writing, and dispersed a memorial thro' all parts of the kingdom of France, setting forth, that no undertaking of this kind was attended with immediate success; that the island of Madagascar, a great part of which was then in their possession, was a country capable of improvement, and might become of greater advantage than any of the Dutch settlements in the East Indies, and that by fixing their capital colony there, they would be better situated for trade than the Dutch at Batavia; that a fund of 600,000 l. sterl. would be necessary, in order to the equipping of fourteen large ships, from 800 to 1400 tons, in order to embark such a number of persons, as might at once establish a considerable colony at Madagascar; that there was no reason to doubt but his majesty wou'd advance a tenth part of this sum, and that the

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the nobility and persons of fortune would also advance the sums requisite to set this project on foot; that for a farther encouragement, his majesty would grant the company an exemption from half their duties both inward and outward, and be content to take upon himself all the loss that might arise for the first ten years; that private persons should be at liberty to subscribe, and that the king would not only permit foreigners to subscribe, but to encourage them thereto, would likewise consent, that such as subscribed 10,000 livres should acquire the right of naturalization, without any farther ceremony.

This edict of establishment was registered in parliament August 7, 1664, and as soon as it was published the king ordered the sum of 300,000 l. to be paid out of the royal treasury to the cashier of the East India company. In the following spring there sailed four large ships from Brest for Madagascar. Soon after some opportunities presented of extending their interest in the Indies. Mr. Marcara, a native of Ispahan, in conjunction with Mr. Caron, a native of France (which last had been many years in the service of the Dutch, and raised to the rank of president of the factory of Japan) settled for them a factory at Surat, and procured for them an establishment in the kingdom of Golconda in 1669.

At

At this time the directors of the company began to take a dislike to their chief settlement at Madagascar, and were desirous of transferring that honour to Surat. To this the court consented, and that nothing should be wanting to support their commerce, the harbour of Port Lewis was granted to them, with all its dependencies; by virtue of this grant, they established their magazines at what is now called Port l' Orient.

There was yet a more considerable act of grace obtained by their powerful protector Mr. Colbert, which was an exemption from all duties on their goods imported: but notwithstanding these great advantages, their affairs continued declining, and their patron died in 1683, when, upon stating a general account in the succeeding year, it appeared, that instead of gaining, they had run out one half of their capital, or near 300,000 l.

In February, 1685, a new regulation was confirmed by royal edict, whereby the company had free liberty to resume the sovereignty of Madagascar. As the company was thus left to their option, after mature deliberation, they thought proper to quit this island to the crown. Upon this cession there arose a new spirit in France of curbing the almost ruined company, under colour of augmenting the revenues of the crown. They first restrained them from selling chints, and other piece goods to foreigners, which

which was not only a great loss to the company, but also to the French nation in general. Afterwards a duty was laid upon the raw silk they imported. Thus, while they were ill treated abroad with design to drive them out of the Indies, they were persecuted at home, on account of the small trade which they drove thither; and all this under the plausible pretence of public spirit; but in reality from selfish principles.

After the first Dutch war, in which they made themselves masters of St. Thomas, which the Dutch retook, the Sieur Martin retired to Pondichery, where, with the leave of the viceroy of the king of Vissapour, he settled himself. He also procured a licence to fortify and secure his people and effects in the best manner he could, which he did effectually; and settled under the protection of his factory a little Indian village, consisting of about forty houses. Soon after Serva-Gi came with a vast army into that country, with design to destroy him as a dependent upon his enemies; but Mr. Martin, by timely application, brought about a treaty by the management of an Indian priest, which ended in a licence to trade in his dominions, for which he paid 1600 rupees; and the year before he purchased the territory of the king of Vissapour.

Now the Dutch began to be very uneasy at the flourishing state of this little colony,  
and



and made presents to Rajah, in whose dominions it lay, to dispossess the French; but this prince being the son of Seva-Gi, rejected these offers with contempt. The Dutch, however, resolved to carry on their point, and a war breaking out between France and Holland, they endeavoured to take it by force. In order to this they came before the place with a squadron of nineteen sail, and an army of 3000 men. To make their conquest the surer, they applied to the new Rajah, who, for the sum of 20,000 l. sterl. sold them the whole district. They then attacked the place, which, after a good defence, Mr. Martin surrendered on honourable conditions, on the 6th of September, 1693. The Dutch were no sooner in possession of Pondichery, than they raised new walls with bastions, and made it one of the compleatest fortresses in the Indies. On the conclusion of a peace, this place was restored to the French, with all its new fortifications, for the sum of 5000 l. Hereupon a squadron was sent from France with two hundred regular troops to augment the garrison, also vast quantities of military stores, and the Sieur Martin was again restored to his command, who assembled a good garrison of 800 men, built 100 new houses, and within the space of five years drew thither 60,000 inhabitants; so that in 1710 it became one of the most considerable places in the

the East, which was in the hands of the Europeans; and if the company had kept pace with the Improvements made by Mr. Martin in the Indies, the French might very well have vied with the English and Dutch. This, however, was not the case, for both this gentleman, and the succeeding governors, were obliged to find means to support themselves, the factory and the town: this they did by the industry of the Indians who were settled therein, while the company at home was daily declining.

Having shewn by what events Pondichery became the chief seat and residence of the French East India company, it will be necessary to give the reader a description of it. Pondichery is situated in the province of Gingy, on the coast of Coromandel, in 12 deg. north latitude, and 114 deg. longitude, from the meridian of Paris. It stands at the distance of 100 yards from the sea, yet they are obliged to carry all their goods in boats for a league. The governor has a very fine house, and on the west side of the town they have very fine gardens belonging to the company; adjoining to these, is a very magnificent building, richly furnished, for the use of foreign princes and ambassadors. The other public buildings consist of a convent of jesuits, where are twelve or fifteen priests who teach school, and instruct the children in reading, writing, and the mathe-  
matics.

metics. The houses in the town are regularly built, which is four miles in extent. The Europeans build with brick; but the Indians with wood only, in the manner which we in England call lath and plaister.

These houses are one story high, and usually eight yards in front, and six in depth, and yet there are fifteen or twenty people dwell in each; their roofs are all flat, for the conveniency of lying upon them, which they do almost naked. Here is one thing very singular, that is, that it never rains, except seven or eight days at most, towards the end of October, which falls out regularly, and is therefore the more extraordinary. The Indians are most of them weavers, or painters, and tho' they cannot earn above 2d a day, yet are they able to maintain their wives and children. Their chief food is rice boiled in water, or made into paste, and baked upon coals. The country affords rice in abundance, so that there is no country in India has greater plenty, or where flesh, fish, and fowl may be had on more reasonable terms. There are few settlements more discreetly governed than this, which the reader will more easily believe when he is informed, that, according to the last account of the inhabitants, they appeared to be no less than 120,000 Christians, Mahometans and Indians. There cannot be a place better seated for trade; so that the  
company's

company's magazines are full of the commodities and manufactures of all the Indies, and also of such as are imported from Persia and the Red Sea. Here also are their warehouses for all sorts of European commodities, which are conveniently transported from thence to all the markets in India, as occasion requires; and they have rendered it so strong and commodious, that it might have carried on ten times the trade they ever had in this part of the world.

But the war, as it brought great mischief on all other branches of the French commerce, so it particularly affected the East India company, and their affairs were now fallen into such disorder, that they suffered private persons to share in the trade. Accordingly, in 1708, Mr. Croizat fitted out two ships in the name of the East India company, on condition to pay them 15 per cent. on all the goods imported, and 2 per cent. on all the prizes they should make beyond the Line. In 1712, they entered into a league with some private traders of St. Malo, to whom they yielded up all their privileges, as a company, upon the best terms they could obtain. Hence we may discover, how it came to pass that the Malomen were enabled to encrease their fortunes by carrying on a trade to the East Indies, under the authority of a company that was, in a manner, become bankrupt.

On

On the death of Lewis XIV. the duke of Orleans took the reins of government into his hands, and affected to act on maxims opposite to those of his predecessors, having openly declared, that the effects of an extensive trade were more certain resources of strength and power than conquest, or arbitrary dominion. The East India company therefore, began to entertain hopes of succour and protection, and, tho' before the death of the king they had obtained a prolongation of their privileges for ten years, yet this, like most of the royal favours they had received, was of little use, as they had no funds left to carry on their commerce; they therefore applied to the duke regent for such helps from the treasury, as might enable them to revive their trade and credit. But the regent, instead of being inclined to part with money out of the royal treasury, for other people to employ in trade, was contriving how to make use of the reputation of commerce to fill the king's coffers, in order to pay off the debts of the crown. It was with this view the regent shewed so much favour to the West India company, and established its capital at 100 millions, thereby to lessen the immense quantity of paper money which the war had made necessary. But when the East India company came to make representations of their condition, and sue for assistance, they found that they had

to do with those who understood their affairs as well as themselves, and therefore were forced to trust absolutely to their conduct and discretion. The consequence of this was the union of the Eastern to the Western company. This edict of a new establishment extinguished the title of both the companies, and the whole was now called, the Company of the Indies.

To this new company was granted an exclusive privilege of trading from the Cape of Good Hope to the utmost extent of the East Indies, as also to the island of Madagascar, the coasts of Soffala in Africa, the Red Sea, Persia, the dominions of the Great Mogul, Siam, China, and Japan; as also of the South Seas, from the Streights of Magellan, or La Maire, to the East Indies that way, forbidding all the rest of the subjects these several trades, under pain of the confiscation of their vessels and effects.

The edict was attended with far greater benefit, than was expected from it. There appeared such an eagerness in subscribing to the new company, that instead of twenty, the subscriptions amounted to fifty millions; which encouraged the French ministry to venture upon some new regulations; the principal of which was, that they shou'd take off four times the number of old actions to be entitled to the new: so that to purchase 5000 livres of the new actions, the subscribers

subscribers were obliged to take 20,000 livres of the old ones. The great end the government proposed by all this, was, to suppress the immense quantity of paper credit: but this not answering the intention, the new company of the Indies undertook to discharge the bills, at the rate of fifty millions per month; so that the whole load of this money amounting to 60 millions sterling, was to be taken in by the end of seven years. Hereupon the king was pleased by an arret, to change the terms on which the company held their privileges, and to declare them perpetual, restraining himself and his successors from ever treating them any otherwise: that they might divide annually ten per cent. which should be duly paid for ever; and they were to manage matters so, as the deficiencies of one year were to be made up by the profits of another.

This kind of management, tho' it certainly ascertained the interest which the proprietors were to receive, yet the not accounting for the profits has proved of ill consequence: for though these dividends have been always regularly paid, till lately; yet the proprietors entertained a suspicion, that the company's commerce had not been carried on for their advantage; but, in their name, for the king's, which has contributed to keep their actions low, notwithstanding

the proprietors have such large interest, and so regularly paid them.

For the better understanding of this point, it will be requisite to give as brief a relation as is possible, of the other companies that have been united to this, by the edict aforementioned; and of the West India company in particular; as it contains many curious and instructive passages. The China company was early set on foot in France, but soon absorbed by that of the East India; but when that company began to decline, they granted their licence, which was also confirmed by the crown, to Mr. Jourdan, a rich merchant, who fitted out a very large ship, called the *Amphitrite*, which made a successful voyage, and returned August 3, 1700, very richly laden. This encouraged him and his partners to fit out the same ship again, which returned with the like good fortune. These two successful voyages, one would imagine might have established this new company: but the general war, in which France was, at that time, engaged, rendered it impracticable: and thus the company lay dormant till such time, as, for reasons of state, it was united to the Western company.

In process of time, it fell out, that the proprietors of this company were so reduced, that they must have failed, if it had not been for the wealth and spirit of a single merchant,



merchant, called Mr. D'Aupougny, who bought out his associates, and by the consent of the crown, had their whole privileges conveyed to himself. He erected a new company, which, after struggling a long time to no purpose, yielded up their privileges to some rich merchants at Rouen; who carried on the trade with tolerable success, till it was united to the company of the Indies.

In 1712, Mr. Anthony Crozat, a gentleman of great fortune, undertook the fixing of a French colony, on the river Mississippi, which had been twice before attempted. He obtained the king's letters patent, and succeeded so far, as to discover the river and country effectually, to raise a fort, and some settlements there. This gentleman, according to the French custom, changed the names of all the places, that were visited by him, or by those he sent thither. The great river was no longer called Mississippi, but the river of St. Lewis, and the country round it Louvissiana, and an island at the mouth of it, which before had been stiled the island of Massacre, was thenceforwards called the Dauphin's island. The expectations raised, from these discoveries, were very great, of which Mr. Crozat made a very prudent use, by taking this opportunity to surrender his patent; that the public might have the benefit of these important settlements. The

regent had now under consideration, a project offered by the famous Mr. Law, a Scotch gentleman, whose name will not be forgot by posterity. The end aimed at was, to reduce the public debts into some form, and, for this purpose, it was necessary to erect a new company, in the like manner, as that which, by the advice of Sir John Blount, the lord treasurer Oxford raised in England, in establishing the South-Sea company: and it being necessary, in order to carry this scheme into execution, that such a new company should be set up, with such privileges, as might create hopes of vast gain to the proprietors; this new settlement was thought of for that purpose, from whence the project is generally called the Mississippi scheme.

The royal bank also was united to the company of the Indies, which was the engine employed for bringing about the great ends proposed by the scheme: when this was effected, the regent and his ministers began to bend their thoughts, on the means of recovering the company from that confusion, into which it was thrown by the execution of a design, equally prejudicial to the commerce, and private property of the subjects of France. It was therefore high time for the government to interpose, since the welfare of the kingdom was now so closely connected, with that of the company  
of

of the Indies, that it was not in the power of the government, to separate one from the other; and which, by their own management, were so closely united. We ought therefore to look upon the rise and fall of the actions of that company, as a political, or commercial barometer, which constantly points out the condition of the trade of France. This observation therefore being a matter of no small consequence to us, we have taken care to shew how the several branches of foreign trade came to be thrown into the hands of a single company; the chief motive to which was undoubtedly this: that the cares of the government with respect to trade might be brought into a narrower compass, and consequently be attended to with more ease by the ministers. Thus much may suffice as to the company of the Indies, or what we call the French East India company, with respect to its commerce.

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## C H A P. VI.

*A new and curious description of China, with remarks historical and natural.*

**T**HIS empire contains eighteen provinces, of which three are in the North, and may be called the Tartarian Provinces, which are separated by a wall of brick

brick and stone 1500 miles long, and now almost entire. This wall was built by the Chinese, to prevent the incursions of the Tartars; but it is of little use at present, since China and those Tartarian provinces are united under one head.

Here are five principal rivers, of which Hoambo and Kiam are vastly large, and if we may believe the Chinese, the latter is not fathomable: besides these, they have spacious canals cut thro' the country, and in such numbers, as a traveller may go to every considerable town by water. Over these canals are magnificent bridges, whose arches are made of marble, and so high, that vessels may sail thro' them with their masts standing. Upon these rivers and canals, the towns stand so thick, that you get no sooner thro' one than you have sight of another; and wherever there is a town on shore, there is another of boats upon the water, so that there are near as many people live on the water, as upon land, their vessels being made as commodious as their houses, and many of their natives are born, live, and die in them; for they keep hogs and poultry on board. Besides these vessels, there are floats of trees perpetually going up and down the rivers and canals, upon which are built little huts, where the people live till they have disposed of their timber. The country is generally flat, the eastern part  
whereof

whereof is fruitful, but there are high mountains towards the west.

The Chinese towns are generally built square, if the ground will admit of it, and the principal gates open towards the four cardinal points of the compass, E. W. N. and S. The streets are very wide, crossing each other the whole length of the town.

Pekin is the capital of the whole empire, which stands in a fruitful plain, about fifty miles south of the great wall, and consists of two cities joined together, one called the Tartar city, the other the Chinese. These cities are twenty miles in circumference, and contain two millions of inhabitants. The emperor's palace stands in the Tartar city, and with the park and gardens is four miles round. The town is surrounded with a wall and a ditch, and the chief streets are 120 feet broad, and about three miles long. The walls of the royal city are above seventy feet high, and perfectly cover the town, the houses being built no higher than the ground-floor, on account of the frequent earthquakes. The gates are still higher than the walls, and their arches are built with marble, but the walls with brick. The streets are perpetually crowded, tho' a woman is rarely seen in them; the occasion of which may be, that all provisions are brought thither in carts, on camels, horses, or beasts of burden, which, with their drivers, fill up

up the streets, so that it is difficult passing the gates either morning or evening. The artificers also contribute to increase the crowd, who are continually looking about for business. The Mandarins likewise have their guards when they come abroad, and all people of distinction have a numerous attendance, which makes it seem more populous than it is in reality.

The emperor's palace consists of nine large courts, of which eight are built round with lodgings of different architecture, but very ordinary, except those large square buildings over the arches, thro' which you pass from one court to another; which are built with white marble. Thro' one of these courts runs a small rivulet, over which are laid bridges of the same marble. In the ninth, or furthestmost court, the emperor resides. In the midst of this court is a square building of an extraordinary bigness, whose top is adorned with balustrades, much after our fashion; this supports another like it, but framed taperwise, over which are placed three more, lessening in bulk, as they gain in height. Upon the uppermost is built a large hall, whose roof is covered with gilt tiles, and borne by four walls, with as many rows of varnished pillars, between which the throne is seated. These vast bases, with the balustrades made of white marble, and disposed amphitheatre-wise, when the sun shines  
dazzle

dazzle the eyes of the beholder. The number of the emperor's wives or concubines is not known, they being never seen by any one but himself, nor dares any one enquire about them. They are all maidens of quality, which the Mandarins and governors chuse, and when they are entered the palace, they have no farther correspondence with their friends or relations. Among those who are so happy as to gain the prince's approbation, three are chosen, who bear the title of queens, and are in a far higher degree of honour than the rest; tho' nothing is wanting that may contribute to the magnificence and diversion of all; and as they do not meddle in any affairs of state, so they do not disturb it with their ambition. The Chinese differ very much from us in this point; they say Heaven has endowed women with good-nature and innocence, that they may take care of their children; but that men are made with strength of body and mind, to rule the world. They are astonished to hear that with us the scepter often falls into the hands of a princess, and will say, by way of joke, that Europe is the lady's kingdom.

The palaces of the chief Mandarins take up a great deal of ground, as they have but one floor, and consist of several open courts, in which the buildings are not contiguous. They are so fond of privacy, that they have  
no

no windows next the street, and will not suffer their neighbours to have any to overlook them; and within the gate, they have a skreen to prevent a stranger's looking in. Their furniture consists of pictures, Japan cabinets, chairs, tables, and skreens varnished; but their beds are exceeding fine. In summer their curtains are made of silk finely wrought, or the finest gauze, to keep off the gnats. In winter they use such as are made of thick coarse silk, with coverlids of the same. They have no featherbeds, but lie upon quilts and mattrasses.

Nankin, is the capital city of a province of the same name, and was formerly of the whole empire. It is now more populous than Pekin, on account of the situation, standing on the river Kiam, which is here two miles broad, and forms a commodious harbour. All the Chinese manufactures are here purchased at the best hand. Before the gates of this, and almost every other great town, are two magnificent towers erected; near which is an idol temple, dedicated to the guardian angel of the place. But the grandest building of them all is a porcelain tower, which stands before one of the gates of this city, being above 200 feet high, of an octangular figure, containing nine stories, each of which falls inward, and decreasing in breadth as they rise in height, form a sort of a pyramid. It is faced with China-ware,  
from



from whence it has its name. Above the eighth story is a cupola, rising thirty feet higher than the tower, on the top of which is a gilded ball. This tower has stood above 300 years, and is considered the most elegant building in the East. The Staircase within is narrow and troublesome, the steps being very high. Each story is made up of thick pieces of timber laid cross-wise, and on them a floor; the cieling of each room being beautified with paintings. In the walls of the upper rooms are several small niches full of carved idols. The whole work is gilt, and looks like carved stone or marble; but our author who examined it, believes it to be brick, they being very skilful in stamping all manner of ornaments on them. The first floor is the most lofty, but the rest are of an equal height, and rises 200 feet from the ground.

These two imperial cities might alone render China deservedly famous, but the metropolis's of most provinces are so big, that each were fit to be the chief of an empire.

Canton is the next great city, and, as we believe, it is the only town the Europeans trade to at present, it must consequently be immensely rich. It is said to exceed all the cities in Asia in idol temples, palaces, and publick buildings, and in it there are no less than thirteen triumphal arches. The streets are paved, but narrow, and the shops make

a very fine show. In summer they make their windows of cane to let the air thro', but in winter of oyster-shells, scraped till they become transparent. Instead of hangings, their walls are covered with thin white paper. Here is a market, almost in every street, for provisions, and the fish are kept alive in cisterns. Frogs are esteemed the most delicious food, and are sold at a greater price than any other meat, tho' they are of a blackish colour. Viper broth was long in esteem here, before it was known in London.

The Chinese have bells in every city, to denote the five watches of the night. Some of these bells are of a prodigious size. There are seven of them in the city of Pekin, which weigh 120,000 pounds each, being forty feet wide: but they make a very dull sound, having only wooden clappers. These bells are hung in towers, and begin to sound at seven in the evening; this being the first watch they strike, which is repeated from time to time, till the second watch begins, when it strikes two, which is repeated in the same manner, till the third watch, and so on till morning. Where there are no bells in the town, they make use of the drum for the same purpose.

Nimpo, is another large city, and has a good harbour, that is attended with a very great foreign trade, especially from Japan, which

which is not much above two days sail distant from it.

Chusan, is a town on an island where the English had formerly a factory; but not finding the advantages in trade here which they expected, they retired to Canton. Doctor James Cunningham, physician to the factory at that time, makes the following observations of this island. "It abounds (says he) with all sorts of provisions, such as cows, buffaloes, goats, deer, hogs; wild and tame geese, ducks, and hens; rice, wheat, calavances, coleworts, turnips, carrots, potatoes, &c. but they have no arts, or manufactures; only lacker'd ware."

Here the tea grows in great plenty on the tops of the hills, but it is not in such esteem, as that which grows in more mountainous countries; so they make little, but what serves for their own use.—The three sorts of tea, commonly carried to England, are all from the same plant, only the soil and the season of the year make the difference. The Bohea, so called of some mountains in the province of Tokien, is the very bud gathered in the beginning of March, and dried in the shade. The Bing-tea is the second growth in April; and Singlo the last in May and June, both dried a little in pans over the fire. The tea shrub being an evergreen, is in flower from October to January, and the seed is ripe in September and

October following, so that one may gather both flower and seed at the same time, but for one fresh and full of seed, there are a hundred naught. These make up the two sorts of fruit in Le Compte's description of tea, which he calls Kysnic peas, but were nothing more than the young buds of the flowers, not yet open. The seed vessels are really triangular, and each capsula contains one nut or seed; tho' one or two capsula only come to perfection; yet the vestiges of the rest may be easily discerned. It grows in a dry gravelly soil on the sides of hills, in several places of this island, without any cultivation.

Their chief employments are fishing and agriculture; as to the latter, all their fields, whether high or low, are made into such plots, as may retain the water over them when they please. They plough with one buffaloe, or cow. Where they sow rice, they clear the ground from all manner of weeds. In watering their fields, they use an instrument of wood, which is contrived like that of our chain-pump. Their trading towns are generally divided into three classes; of the first are 160; of the second 270; and of the third near 12,000; besides 300 wall'd cities, which they think not worth observing; tho' they come little short of any of them, either as to the number of inhabitants, or greatness of trade. What is yet more

more surprising in China, is, that, whereas, being gone thro' one of these great cities, you would scarce expect to meet with the like, you are hardly out of sight of it, before you meet with another. Those who have the patience to spend a few minutes on the water-side near any of these cities, and view the crowds of people that come to cheapen commodities, would imagine it to be the grand mart, to which the whole empire was resorting.

Come we now to take a cursory view of the several ports and havens of China, which do not a little contribute; and to which, of late years, a free access has been granted to all nations; three of these, namely, Macao, Canton, and Amoy, are particularly described in the former part of this work: we therefore proceed to the fourth, called Nimpo, which lies east of China, and is a city of the first class. The town is full of triumphal arches, built with long marble stones, and consisting of three great arches, of which the middlemost is the highest. The four columns that support them are sometimes round, and sometimes square, made of one stone, placed on an irregular basis. They have no capitals, but the trunk is fastened into some figures, which are over the pillars. The frize is better distinguished, but too high above the rest: they are adorned with inscriptions, figures, embossed sculptures,

tures, carved flowers, and birds flying, as it were from the stone, which seem to be master-pieces.

This is in general what may be said of the ports and cities of China, the number of which is so great, that a traveller can scarce distinguish them, they stand so thick together: we now, therefore, shall enter upon the natural history of this vast empire.

The land of China, like all others, is divided into hills and vallies: their mountains, indeed, are not so stony as those in Europe, the mould being light, and easily dug to a vast depth, before they come to a rock. Nor are these mountains useless; for they bear all sorts of timber-trees for building and shipping. They grow large, tall, and straight, and the inhabitants trade much in them. When they have lopped off the branches, they fasten 80 or 100 of them together, and make as many such floats as reach almost a mile, which they drag along the rivers and canals, till they have sold them all; for they build them little houses on these floats, where the timber-merchant, his family, and servants lie during the voyage, which is sometimes four months long. They have other mountains, which are of more public advantage, producing iron, tin, brass, mercury, gold and silver. It is true, the silver mines are not now used; as for their gold, the torrents wash a great quantity of it into

into the plains, and many people get a livelihood by looking for it among the sand and mud ; where they find it so pure, that it needs no refining. If you will believe the Chinese, some of these mountains have wonderful properties, of which we shall mention two or three. They affirm, that there is a hill in the province of Xensi, which is shaped like a cock, and sometimes crows so loud, as to be heard at three leagues distance ; and that another, in the province of Fokien, moves to and fro when a storm approaches, like a tree agitated by the wind. The latter especially is admired, the whole extent of which is nothing but a representation of the idol Foki, so vastly big, that its eyes are several miles broad, and the nose many leagues in length \*. — China abounds in such like curiosities : but the idlest dream, and that to which they give the most faith, is, that there is a dragon of extraordinary strength and sovereign power. It is in Heaven, in the air, on the waters, and usually among the mountains ; they also believe, that in those mountains live a sort of men which they call the *Immortal Race*, believing really that they never die ; and some are

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\* We cannot suppose this to be a piece of Chinese workmanship ; for certainly they would not have made its nose so big, who like to have their own small, and which they look upon as a great beauty.

so infatuated with this ridiculous notion, that they wander among those rocks, and there lose themselves in quest of immortality. The most famous temples are also built on mountains. Pilgrims repair hither 300 leagues off, and in such numbers, as the roads are sometimes crowded with them. The women are very punctual in the performance of this part of devotion; for having no other opportunity of getting abroad, they are fond of this pretence: but these holy travels being somewhat prejudicial to their virtue, they husbands are not over much pleased with them.

From the mountains we shall descend to the plains, and it must be confessed, that no art can equal their natural beauty. They are all cultivated, and have neither hedge, nor ditch, nor scarce a tree to rob them of an inch of ground. They have two harvests every year, and between those two seasons is their seeds-time. The soil is proper for all manner of fruits, and besides their own product, they have all that Europe produces: but of all the trees that grow in China, that which affords tallow is, in our opinion, the most surprising, there being no where else any thing like it; the very proposition may to some readers seem a paradox. Perhaps, therefore, the nature and properties of so extraordinary a vegetable may not be unacceptable. It is about the  
height



height of our cherry-trees, the branches are crooked, the leaves shaped like a heart, and of a fine red colour. Its bark is smooth, the body short, and the head very thick. The fruit is inclosed in a rind, divided into three cells, which open when it is ripe, and shew three white kernels about the size of a hazel-nut. All the branches are very full of it, and this mixture of white and red makes the finest prospect in the world at a distance. But the wonder is, this kernel has all the qualities of tallow, in smell, colour, and consistency; they also make candles of it, mixing only a little oil when they melt it, to make the stuff more pliant. If they knew how to purify it as we do, I doubt not, says our author, but their candles would be as good as ours, did they not make them so very awkwardly: instead of cotton, which they have in abundance, they use a small stick, wrapped round with the pith of a rush, for a wick; which makes them burn faint, increases the smoke, and causes an offensive smell.

Among the other trees peculiar to this country, we must not omit that which produces pepper, not the same we make use of in Europe, but a sort of seed endued with the same qualities. It grows on a tree like that which, with us, bears walnuts, is about the size of a pea, and of a greyish colour, with small red streaks. They open of them-

themselves when ripe, and discover a little stone as black as jet, whose smell is very noxious to the head; for this reason, they gather them by intervals, not being able to remain on the tree any considerable time. These grains are exposed to the sun, and the stone cast away, being too offensive and strong. The seed, tho' not quite so agreeable as our pepper, is yet of good use in sauces. Here is also a flower-tree, called the Oûtom-chu, resembling our sycamore; whose leaves are about nine inches diameter, fastened to a stalk near a foot long, which is extremely tufted, and laden with clusters of flowers, so thick set, that the sun's rays cannot pierce it. Notwithstanding the tree is very large, the fruit is exceeding small, and produced after the following manner. Towards the end of July, there springs out of the very point of the branches, little bunches of leaves different from the other, both in breadth, colour, and softness, which are in lieu of flowers; upon the border of each of these small leaves, grow three or four kernels, as big as peas, which inclose a white substance, that tastes like a filbert not quite ripe.

It would be too tedious to give a list of all their different herbs; for besides those mentioned, they have many others unknown to us, on which they set a greater value. There is no place like it for the abundance

bundance of roots and pulse, which are almost the only food of the inhabitants, and their care and dexterity herein exceeds all our gardeners performances; so that, tho' our walks and pleasure-grounds excel theirs, they excel us in their kitchen gardens.

The Chinese say, their country was totally overflowed, and that they drained off the water, by cutting the canals above-mentioned. If this be true, we cannot but admire the boldness and industry of the workmen, who have made, from a kind of sea, the most fertile plains in the world. It is scarce to be credited, that men, so ignorant in the principles of physick, could bring such a work to perfection; yet it is certain, that these canals were dug by men, for they are usually strait, and their distribution is equal and orderly; so that it cannot be doubted, but they are only beholden to their own labour for these great conveniencies. Among all their canals, one above the rest is called the Great Canal, because it crosses the whole country of Canton, which lies sixty miles southward of Peking.

Here are also fountains, several of which flow and ebb as regularly as the sea doth; whether they have any communication with the ocean, by subterraneous conveyances, or whether by passing through certain earths they are impregnated with salts, apt to cause this fermentation, we leave others to determine,

determine. As to what concerns fountains, it were to be wished they had more of them, and better, for their common waters are by no means good, which perhaps hath obliged the inhabitants, especially in the southern provinces, to drink it always warm; but because warm water was nauseous, they bethought themselves of putting some leaves of a tree to it, to give it a flavour. Those of tea seemed the best suited to this purpose, and so they frequently make use of it to supply the defects of their wells and fountains, which are every where brackish: and as they have the leaves of this particular tree in abundance, they, by an infusion of them, not only purge their waters from their noxious qualities, but also make them wholesome and pleasant.

We next proceed to give an account of their lakes and ponds, which must not be passed over in silence. Those that are produced by torrents rolling down from the mountains, often lay waste the adjoining fields; but those which arise from springs abound with fish, and yield a considerable revenue to the emperor by the salt they afford. There is one, among the rest, in the middle whereof is a small island, where people divert themselves during the excessive heat, by throwing water into the air, and making artificial rain. They find here a crust of salt, which is very white, and of a grateful

grateful smell, and enough to supply the whole province, if it was as salt as that made of sea-water; yet they commonly use it to season meat withal. Tho' our author has not seen all those lakes, to which historians ascribe so many miracles; yet is he willing to relate something concerning them, which we will not warrant for gospel: nevertheless, it may serve to shew the genius of the country, whose people so easily believe what seems most incredible. There is a lake in the province of Tokien, whose water is green, and changes iron into copper. On the banks of another, not far distant from the former, they have built a palace; in an apartment of which, one hears the ringing of bells before a storm. In another province, there are waters that change their colour every year; in winter and summer they are very clear; in autumn they turn to a fine blue, which people make use of to dye stuffs. In this place also is to be seen a mountain full of caverns, whose aspect is very terrible; where is found a lake of such a nature, that, if one throw a stone into it, one may hear a noise like thunder. But the most famous of them all is in the province of Yunnan. The Chinese aver, that this came all of a sudden, in the time of an earthquake, which swallowed up all the country, with its inhabitants, saving one child, who was found swimming upon

a piece of wood in the middle of the lake. In Haynan, an island belonging to China, there is a water likewise that petrifies fish.

The rivers, lakes, canals, and coasts, furnish them with all sorts of fish; we therefore shall only take notice of one kind, which is peculiar to this country, and found in many provinces, being what they call the golden and silver fish, which really are a great beauty and ornament to the courts and gardens of the great and opulent. They are commonly of a finger's length, and of a thickness proportionable. The male is of a most beautiful red, from the head to the lower part of the body, the rest, together with the tail, is gilded, but with such glittering and burnished gold, as our best real gildings cannot equal: the female is white; its tail, and one part of the body, perfectly wash'd over with silver. Their tails are not flat, like those of other fish, but fashioned like a nosegay, thick and long, which adds to the beauty of this little animal, being otherwise very pretty, and well proportioned.

They are exceeding tender, and sensible of the least injuries of the air, so that it is difficult to breed them without great care. They put them into a large and deep bason of water in their gardens, which they can supply with fresh water two or three times a week; at the bottom of this bason they  
place

place an earthen pot turned upside down, whose sides are full of holes, that they may retire from the heat of the sun. They likewise throw upon the surface of the water some herbs that keep always green, and maintain the coolness. If they are at any time obliged to remove them from one vase to another, they are very careful not to touch them with the hand, if they do, the fish instantly shrivels up and dies. For this purpose therefore they make use of a little net fastened to a hoop at the end of a pole, with which they take them, and instantly convey them to the other water. Any great noise, as of a cannon near, a hard clap of thunder, or too violent a motion, is very hurtful, and sometimes kills them. They live almost upon nothing. Those small earthy particles that are mix'd in the water, and the insensible worms that are bred in it, suffice to keep them alive: however, they throw in a wafer now and then, which being steeped makes a kind of pap, that they are fond of, and eat greedily, and which is very suitable to their natural delicacy. In hot countries they multiply very much, provided their eggs, or spawn that swims upon the water, which the fish most commonly eat, be taken and removed into another basin exposed to the sun, whose heat hatches them. The fish comes out black, and some retain the original colour; but in others it

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changes

changes by degrees into red, white, gold, and silver. The gold and silver first appears at the end of the tail, and expands more or less according to their particular disposition. We have dwelt the longer on this subject, to shew that nature, when sporting, can exceed the skill of the nicest artist; and that these and other wonders of the universe, should make us acknowledge the finger of God every where, who, for ungrateful mankind, has embellished the world many thousand ways; who has not only enlightened the heavens, enriched the earth, and purified the air, but descends into the very waters, where, not to mention those prodigious monsters which astonish human nature, he hath made those wonderful fishes, we have just now described, which, small as they are, by their singular beauty, are the object of our admiration, and furnish us with some faint ideas of the infinite wisdom of the Almighty Creator.

Their animals are camels, oxen, horses, sheep, some few elephants, and all manner of wild beasts. The black hogs with bellies touching the ground come from this country. — Here are mines of copper, lead, and iron, and a mineral called Tuttnaque, which something resembles tin. Their manufactures are silk, China ware, and cabinet work: that which the natives esteem the best silk is produced in the province



vince of Nankin, and foreigners set a great value on that of Canton. Great quantities of raw silk are imported from thence at present, and duties being lately reduced by an act of parliament; whereas these duties were lately so high, as amounted almost to a prohibition. Raw silks are also brought from India by the English company; but these are exported again, being not allowed to be worn here: both plain and flowered silks are imported; but the figures are not raised, consisting only of different colours and shades; the principal figure is usually the dragon, which is the imperial arms. They have also manufactures of velvet, crapes, druggets, serges, and tammies; but they make no cloth, tho' their wool is exceeding good. In the northern provinces they set a great value upon English cloth, of which the India company are obliged to send over a great quantity, and it was dearer than silk in China; but since so many European nations have fallen into that trade, it is well if English cloth be not a drug at present.

The Chinese have also a great manufacture of cotton cloth; also another kind made of the plant co, which grows to the bigness of a man's finger, when they pluck it up, bind it into sheaves, and water it like flax. The out skin being taken off and thrown away, they divide the fibres of the next into small

Q 3

threads,

threads, and without beating or spinning make a kind of linen of it, which is transparent, and exceeding fine and light. The common people usually wear coarse blue linen, quilted with cotton, or lined with sheep-skins in the winter; and people of fashion line their gowns and vests with fables or fox-skins in cold weather.——Their raw silk is of two sorts; one made by the worms themselves on the trees in their forests, which is very strong, of a grey colour, and washes like linen: as to the other, the worms are bred and fed in their houses with mulberry-leaves for forty days, and managed as in England.

China-ware is of three sorts, distinguished by their several colours: the yellow is the imperial colour, and upon that account most esteemed, tho' it is the coarsest: the second sort is grey, which is the most beautiful, but very seldom brought over; our merchants buy up the third sort, which is blue and white. What is principally regarded in purchasing this commodity, is its whiteness, smoothness, painting, and fashion: the fineness is discovered by its transparency, and the age by the whiteness: if there be any roughness upon the surface, it is deemed a great fault. The blue paint is excellent, but the red is seldom very lively; their flowers are pretty well done, but their figures are monstrous. — The clay, of which

which this ware is made, comes from one place, and the water with which it is tempered from another, because it is impregnated with some peculiar salts, proper to purify and refine the clay, and unite its parts the better. It is a vulgar error to imagine, that it takes up one or two hundred years in preparing the matter; or that its composition is difficult. If that were so, it would neither be so common, nor so cheap. It is made of a stiff clay, or rather of a kind of soft white stone, that is found in the quarries of the province of Quamsi, which they make into a very subtil powder. Of this powder they make a paste, which they knead together for a considerable time to incorporate the water therewith. When it is well moulded, they fashion it with a wheel, as in our potteries. When the work pleases them, they expose it to the sun every morning and evening, but remove it again when the sun grows too hot, for fear of its warping. When they judge the ground to be in a proper state to receive it, they apply painting; but because neither the vases, nor the colours, have sufficient lustre, they make a very fine ly of the matter of the porcelain, with which they pass several strokes on the work, which gives to it a peculiar whiteness. This done, they put the vases into a furnace, under which they make a gentle and constant fire, that bakes them without

without breaking, and do not take them out till they are cold. This is the whole process of making China, so long sought after in Europe.

The China-paper is made of the inner bark of the bamboo, a large knotted cane, which is beaten in the same manner as we do rags. It is very thin, and washed over with varnish, to prevent the ink's sinking; and as it is made of the bark of a tree, a worm frequently gets into it, for which reason there are no ancient manuscripts in China. Their libraries consist only of copies, that have been made from time to time, as the paper decayed. Their ink is very good, and brought over in little cakes to England.

Printing, which has not been known many centuries in Europe, is an art in use from all antiquity in China; however it is something different from ours. As we have but few letters from which we can compose large volumes, by joining them together, a few types are sufficient, because those of which the first sheet is composed, may be employed for all the others: but the vast number of the Chinese characters hinder them from working this way, except only in title pages, into which few letters can come in. On all other occasions they find it more easy to engrave their letters on wooden boards, and the charge is much less.—He who intends to print a book, gets it fairly written over  
by

by a masterly hand: the engraver glews each leaf upon a smooth table or board about half an inch thick, and cuts it through with his tools so exactly, that the characters have a perfect resemblance of the original; so that the impression is good or bad, according as a good or bad writer is employed. It must be confessed, that this sort of printing is very incommodious, as the boards must be multiplied as much as the leaves, so that a pretty large room will not suffice to contain all the little tables made use of for a voluminous performance. When one has a mind to write, they lay a little polished marble on the table made hollow at the end to hold water, in which they infuse part of a stick of ink, which they rub gently upon the smooth part of the marble, and in a moment a liquor is produced more or less, wherein they dip the point of a pencil to write with. This ink is shining, extremely black, and altho' it sinks when the paper is very fine, yet does it never extend farther than the pencil, so that the letters are exactly terminated, how gross soever the strokes be.

The Chinese have a very extensive foreign trade, most of the nations in Europe importing the produce of their respective country; but they never make any long voyages themselves. All their Merchandize is transported to Europe in European ships; but with

with all the Nations of India the Chinese trade in their own bottoms ; and no people are more industrious, or will run greater lengths to encrease their fortunes in the Indian seas. They have also a vast inland trade from one province to another by their canals, every province being supplied by water-carriage with the commodities of those which are at the farthest distance. The profit they make of silk, China-ware, and other produce of their country is immense ; as few countries produce the same articles, they set what price they please upon them, and receive chiefly silver in return ; and yet so cautious they are, that they will not suffer the nations that bring them all this wealth to enter their towns. Canton is the only port we traffic to, and we are admitted no farther than the suburbs. They see how the Dutch have deposed many of the Indian princes, and usurped the dominion of their respective countries. And, to say the truth, it is only their great distance from Europe, and the vast extent of their dominions, that secures them in the possession of their country. If China lay as near France as Germany does, the grand monarch would long ago have made a conquest of it, and monopolized all its produce. The Dutch would long ago, no doubt, have done it, if they could have sent colonies sufficient to have kept so large an Empire in possession. The

The same pretence would have served them for invading China, as they made use of for attacking Java, Macassar, and Amboyna, and the prize would have been as rich.

There is very little gained by any merchandize sent to China, the profit arises by the goods imported from thence, and there is the greatest care in the world required in the supercargo to prevent his being imposed on. If he does not view the goods with all imaginable caution, and examine their weights and measures, he must expect to be cheated: and at last they have so many tricks, that it seems necessary to weigh the goods in English scales after them. Besides the merchandize already mentioned, our Merchants bring home quicksilver, copper, camphire, fans, pictures, soya, borax, lapis lazuli, galingal, and tutenaque; and notwithstanding the exportation of gold is prohibited, the governors themselves will sell it under-hand, and our merchants may get 50 per cent. by it. Pieces of uncoined gold are here taken by weight instead of money. When payments are made in plate instead of money, such as dishes, bowls, tankards, &c. they cut a piece out of them to try the fineness of the Silver. Goods sent to China, besides plate and bullion, are cloth, perpetuano's, and camblets of all colours, which do little more than pay duty and prime cost.

Lead

Lead turns to the best account of any thing sent thither by the company.

These general observations have not engrossed all our time: we shall spare a little more to examine what there is in the east most curious, in the way of natural philosophy, anatomy, and botany. During my stay at Siam, says our author \*, I had an opportunity of viewing several particular animals, which we rarely, if ever see in Europe. Here are tygers very different from those which are to be seen in other countries, with respect to the colour or size: as to colour they are of a reddish fallow interlaced with large streaks, and sometimes equal the bigness of horses; these they call royal tygers. The species that are named water tygers does exactly resemble a cat; their chief food is fish, but they live in the woods, or like our otters, on the banks of rivers, being an amphibious animal.

Here are also rhinoceros's which have been already described in the first volume of this work †. What is to be seen in the island of Borneo is still more remarkable. It is notoriously known to be true; that they find in the woods a sort of beast called the savage man, whose shape, stature, countenance, arms, legs, &c. are so like ours, that excepting the voice, one would be at a loss to distinguish

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\* *Lewis le Comte, Jesuit.* † *See index to the whole.*



distinguish them from certain barbarians in Africa. — This creature is endued with extraordinary strength, walks upon two legs, and yet is he very swift of foot. People of fortune hunt him as we do the stag; and this is usually the king's diversion. His skin is hairy, his eyes hollow, his countenance fierce, but his features proportionable, altho' they are harsh and tanned by the sun. At a certain time, continues he, passing from China to the coast of Coromandel, I saw, in the streights of Molucca, one, that might make credible what I have just now related. It marches naturally upon its two hind feet, and makes use of its fore feet as we do for arms; its visage is as well favoured as that of the Hottentots at the Cape of Good Hope; but the body is covered over with white, black, or grey wool.

They cry exactly like a child, and the whole outward action is so human, the passions so lively and significant, that a person born dumb can scarce better express his conceptions, and prevailing appetites. They are naturally kind, and shew their affection to persons they know and love with transport surprising. That which I saw, adds he, was at least four feet high, but had agility and slight almost incredible. There is no posture but they imitate, nor motion but they perform. They bend themselves like a bow, roll like a bowl, and turn round as

swift as a wheel put in motion. They hang by the hands, feet, or teeth, according as their whimsical imaginations direct; and this too, in the most diverting manner imaginable.

The cameleon is also to be seen on the coast of Coromandel, and the French breed them at Pondichery. They do not live upon air alone, as some naturalists have vainly affirmed; for they eat, and that very greedily. It is true, indeed, they can live several days without aliment; but if you give them none, they will soon dwindle away by degrees, and at last die for hunger. Every thing is very odd in this creature: Its eyes, head, and belly, are exceeding large, and altho' it is composed of four parts like a lizard, yet is it so very slow in all its motions, that it crawls rather than goes; and if nature had not given it a tongue of a peculiar contexture, it could never catch the animals upon which it feeds: this tongue is round, thick, and at least a foot long, which he can dart seven or eight inches out of his mouth, and the substance of it is so viscid, that it detains all the little insects that come in its way, if it touch them never so lightly. Its body is covered all over with a very fine skin, that changes colour according to the various passions with which it is agitated. Joy makes it of an emerald green, mixed with orange, and etched with little grey

grey and black strokes: choler makes it livid and dusky; fear pale, like a faded yellow: sometimes all these colours, and many more, are mixed together, out of which is composed such a pretty medley of shade and light, that nature does not afford a more pleasing variety, nor art a more lively and proportional drawing.

There are likewise, at Pondichery, two other little animals not known in Europe: one is called Chieu-marron, which partakes of the dog, wolf, and fox, almost equally; it does not bark, but cries like an infant. It is naturally voracious, and when hunger pinches, enters into houses in the night, and seizes the people.

The other is the Mangour, which, as to its exterior form, resembles a weasel, except that the body is bigger, the legs shorter, the snout slenderer, and the eye quicker. This animal is very familiar, and there is no spaniel fawns more prettily with his master; nevertheless, it is not to be trusted when it eats, as it continues at that time snarling, and is very apt to fall furiously upon those who offer it the least disturbance.

India being a very hot country, and withal moist, produces a great number of other animals, especially abundance of serpents of all sizes, and so beautiful with respect to the variety of colours, that there is scarce any thing, in which the eye can take

greater delight. The people of Siam catch vast numbers of them in the woods, and sell them, as we do eels in the markets.

The art of breeding silk-worms, and procuring silk, being arrived at no great perfection in Britain, it may not be unnecessary, here to lay before our readers the origin and process of the silk manufacture in China. — When the choice of worms is made for breed, they lay the males and females together upon a sheet of paper which must be made of the bark of the mulberry-tree, and strengthen it with silk or cotton thread glued to the bottom, because when they are covered with eggs, they must be dipped three times in proper water. These sheets must be spread on mats well covered with straw, and when the moths have been together about twelve hours, the males must be taken away.

The eggs which stick together in clots must be thrown away also, and then the sheets hung up to the beam of the room; care being taken not to turn outwards that side on which the eggs are laid, and that nothing made of hemp may come near the worms or eggs. When the sheets have hung in this manner for some days, they are taken down, and rolled up loosely with the eggs inwards, and then hung up again during the summer and autumn. At the end of December, or in January; they put the eggs into water with a little salt dissolved in it, taking

taking care that it does not freeze ; after two days, they take them out, and hang them up again. When dry, they roll them up something tighter ; and inclose each separately, setting them on one end in an earthen vessel. After that, once in ten days, where there is no dew, they expose the sheets for about half an hour to the sun, shining bright, after a shower ; and then close them as before.

The time of hatching the eggs is when the mulberry-tree is in leaf ; for they are hastened, or retarded, according to the different degrees of heat imparted to them : they are forwarded, if the sheets be often spread abroad, and hindered by doing the contrary. When they are ready to come out, the eggs swell, and their roundness becomes a little pointed ; then they turn of an ash-grey, and after appear blackish. Next day, taking out the rolls and opening them, they find them full of worms, like little black ants. If any worms were hatched before, they must be cast away, because they would never agree with the others, in the time of making cods ; and the eggs not hatched after the time of the general hatching, must also be destroyed. — These insects must be very nicely managed, before their first moulting. Every day is to them a year, and has in it the four seasons : The morning is spring, the middle of the day summer, the

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evening

evening autumn, and the night winter\*. Being of this delicate nature, every thing ought to be removed that might incommode them. They have a peculiar aversion to hemp, wet leaves, the smell of broiled fish, burnt hair, musk, smoke, breath smelling of wine, ginger; &c. as also to all great noises, nastiness, the rays of the sun, the light of a lamp in the night, much cold or heat, and especially a sudden change from one to the other. With respect to food, the leaves should be gathered two or three days beforehand, and kept in clean airy places, not forgetting for the three first days to give them the tenderest leaves, cut into little shreds with a sharp knife, to prevent their bruising.

At the end of three days, when they begin to be white, encrease their food, but cut it not so small; when they are black, give them a greater quantity of leaves whole from the tree, and when they become yellow, and fit to mew, give them nothing. After they are hatched they must have 48 meals the first day, the next 30, and the  
third

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\* It has been found by Experience, that, 1. as long as the eggs are kept before they are hatched, they require much cold; 2. when hatched, and like ants, they require much heat; 3. when become caterpillers they need a moderate heat; 4. after the great mew-ing, they must be kept cold; 5. when old they must be warmed by degrees; 6. when they are working their cods a great heat is necessary.

third less; for if they be over heated you ruin all. Eating often encreases their growth, on which the chief profit depends. If they come to maturity in 25 days, a hurdle covered with them, whose weight amounts to little more than a drachm, will produce 25 ounces of silk; but if not till 28 days, it will yield but 20, and if a month or 40 days, but 10. The critical moment for removing them into a proper apartment to work in, is, when they are of a bright yellow; then the numerous swarm must be surrounded with mats at a proper distance, which must also cover the top so as to keep out air and light, because they love to work in the dark. However, after the third day's work, they take away the mats from one to three o'clock, to let in the sun, but so that the rays may not strike upon these little labourers.

In seven days, the cods being finished, they are gathered and laid on heaps till they have time to wind off the silk, setting apart those designed for propagation. In seven days more the moths come out of the cods. To kill the moths, in those cods you wou'd not have bored, without hurting the work, is another care. Now the cods must not be put into the kettle till they can be wound off; for if they soak long, they will hurt the silk. The best way is, to employ hands enough to work them off all together. It is affirmed, that five men may wind off  
30 lb.

30 lb. of cods in a day, and supply two others with 10 lb. of silk to be made into skains: but for want of this expedition, three methods are prescribed to preserve the cods from being bored \*.

When the silk-worms are about to spin, if you lay them upon the top of a cup covered with paper, they will spin a flat piece of silk, thin, and round, like a large wafer, which is not clogged with that viscous matter which the worms emit in the shells when long enclosed: they are likewise as easy to wind as the cods, without requiring to be wound in a hurry. The silk is wound off by the Chinese with very simple instruments, all which are exhibited to the view of the reader in the plate annexed.

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\* *First, they lay them in the sun for a whole day, which, tho' prejudicial to the silk, certainly kills the flies. Secondly, they put them in Balneo Mariæ, and throw into the copper an ounce of salt, and half an ounce of rape oil. The third and best way of killing the moths is, to fill great earthen vessels with cods in layers, of 10 lb. each, and throwing between every layer four ounces of salt, covering it with large dry leaves, like the water-lily; then stopping the mouth of the vessel very close, the flies will be suffocated in seven days: but if the least air gets in, they will live long enough to pierce their cods. In laying the cods in the vessels, separate the long, white, and glittering ones, which yield a very fine silk; from those as are thick, dark, and blue, like the skin of an onion, which produce a coarse silk.*



We shall conclude this our account of China, with observing that God is no less wonderful in the least insect and reptile, than he is in the greatest part of the creation; of which there are such prodigious numbers, as might deserve the most serious reflection. Here are flies, by nature painted so beautiful, and polished so finely, that the most curious gilding cannot rival.

Their white pismires, every where to be found, which no care of man can destroy, are not more famous for the inconveniencies they produce, than for their natural properties. They are exceeding small, and of a soft substance, some white and some russet. Whenever they get into an house or apartment, they multiply *ad infinitum*; nothing but the black pismires can drive them out. Their teeth are so sharp and penetrating, that they not only, in a night's time, pierce thro' the greatest bails of cloth, wool, silk, and the like, but even thro' cabinets, cupboards, and tables; the wood of which, in a few days, becomes worm-eaten. They are no less injurious to copper and silver vases, upon which you may sometimes discern the marks of their teeth: this corrosion may, with good reason, be attributed to the particular quality of the saliva, which we imagine is a kind of dissolving menstruum, and acts after the same manner as aqua fortis does with us upon metals.

C H A P.

## C H A P. VII.

*The rise and progress of the Spanish empire in America, including their discoveries, conquests, settlements, and commerce in the West Indies.*

HAVING, in the former volume, treated of the voyages of Columbus \*, in pursuit of whose notions the probability of sailing round the world, with the territory of New Spain, were first discovered; we shall next entertain the reader with the history of the conquests made by the Spaniards, who followed his tract. The first by Ferdinand Cortes, of the vast empire of Mexico: the second, by Francis Pizaro, who subdued the no less famous empire of Peru.

When the Spaniards had possessed themselves of the island of Hispaniola, made a settlement on the little island of Cubaqua, and obtained the conquest of the great island of Cuba, Don Diego de Velasquez, governor hereof, resolved to pursue the reduction of New Spain, and took proper measures for another expedition: of this squadron Ferdinand de Cortes was appointed commander in chief. Soon after Velasquez recalled his commission, but notwithstanding this, Cortes took

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\* See Vol. I.

took upon him the command, with the universal applause and consent of all those who were engaged in the design, among whom were several persons of the first rank.

The ships parted from Trinidad, another island in possession of the Spaniards, with a favourable wind ; but night coming on, they separated from the Capitana, on which Cortes was aboard, and arrived at the Havanna, where the soldiers landed. Pedro de Barba, who was at that time governor here under Velasquez, insisted upon naming another commander, whose name was Diego de Ordaz, a confidant of Velasquez, and who expected to be preferred. After a dispute of seven days about this affair, Cortes arrived, and being informed of the design of his principal, he resolved to break with him. Hereupon he immediately sent Diego de Ordaz from the Havanna, to a settlement situated on the other side of Cape St. Antony to take in provisions, and there to wait for his arrival.

This precaution taken ; Cortes shewed himself to his soldiers, acquainting them with what had befallen him. They unanimously agreed in their resolution of assisting him, and let Barba know, that their commander Cortes was too well attended to be reduced to obedience by any violent proceedings. When the tumult was appeased, Cortes departed from the Havanna with a fair wind,

wind, and three days after arrived with the whole fleet at Cape Antonio, where he sent for Diego de Ordaz to join him ; and tho' inwardly well pleased to find him there in safety, he reprimanded him severely, and imprisoned the pilot for not pursuing his instructions. This done, he drew up his forces to the sea-side, and having encamped there for three days, he made a general review ; upon which it appeared, that this mighty army, with which he was to conquer the Mexican empire, consisted of no more than 508 soldiers and officers, 16 horse, two chaplains, 109 mariners, pilots, and men of other professions. To these he made a long speech ; but before it was well ended, information came, that a great number of Indians were approaching. Cortes instantly drew up his men, ordering them to remain under arms, till he knew what those people aimed at. As soon as the Indians came in sight, they stood still, consulting what they had best do, and perceiving no hostilities were offered, they came boldly up to the soldiers, presented them with refreshments, and continued a friendly correspondence, without the least terror or surprize.

At night they all retired to their houses, and the next day the cazique of the island came to visit Cortes with a numerous equipage. One among his attendants was heard

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to repeat in a bad manner the word *Castilla*; whom nothing could divert from his point, asked the interpreter the meaning of that word? the Indian answered, that his men were very like some persons that were in *Yutacan*, natives of a colony called *Castilla*, which Cortes no sooner heard, than he resolved to set them at liberty, and engage them in his service; but finding they were in the hands of some Indians of the highest rank, and two days journey within the province of *Yutacan*: Cortes enquired of the *cazique*, whether these were warlike Indians, and what force was necessary to rescue these Christians from slavery? the *cazique* told him, the securest way would be to ransom them; for that the endeavouring to rescue them by force of arms, would expose them to the hazard of being massacred by their masters. Cortes approved of his advice, and ordered *Diego de Ordaz* to sail to *Yutacan*, by whom, he sent a letter to the prisoners, with some trifles for their ransom; commanding him to stay eight days for an answer. Two days after *Ordaz* came upon the coast of *Yucatan*, and the letter was delivered to a Spaniard, whose name was *Aguilar*. He being highly pleased with it and the toys, carried them to his master, who, on seeing him read the letter, was greatly surprized; wondering how persons at such a distance could understand each other.

No. 19. S ther

ther by that method. He however obtain'd leave of his master to visit his countrymen, and was kindly received by Cortes, who, with his fleet, sailed to the road of Champatan, where he called a council to consider whether they should venture to land, or not? Cortes was inclined to the affirmative, and supported his opinion with great warmth; but being opposed with unanswerable reasons, they pursued their course to the river Grigalva, and attack'd the town of Tabasco, which they took, and afterwards gained a great victory over the Indians. Soon after a peace was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties.

Some prisoners were taken in the late engagement, and Cortes ordered Aguilar to examine them separately, which being done, this general ordered them to be brought before him. Among these were two or three officers, whom he received with courtesy, and set at liberty, giving them some trifling presents, and adding, at the same time, that he knew both how to conquer and forgive. This piece of humanity had so good an effect, that within a few hours several Indians came with wheat, flour, and other provisions.

Soon after the Spaniards sailed to the westward, and came in the sight of the island Guazacoalco, and at length arrived at St. Juan de Ulua, where they no sooner anchored,

chored, than they saw two large canoes coming off, with some Indians. When they came within some distance of the general, they began to talk in a language unknown to Aguilar, which gave Cortes great concern, as he was now destitute of an interpreter, when he had the most occasion for him; but he was soon relieved from this distress.

An Indian woman, whom we shall call Marina, being near Cortes and Aguilar, guessing what they wanted, told him, in the Yucatan tongue, that those Indians spoke the Mexican language, and desired audience of the general. She was daughter of the cazique of Guazacoato, a province subject to the emperor of Mexico; and thro' some accidents of life, was, in her youth, carried to Yucatan, where she was bred up in a poor manner, and became a slave to the cazique of Tabasco. She had ready wit, and several natural endowments, and proved a very faithful interpreter to Cortes; who, fixed her in his interest, by ways not altogether so decent: he had a son by her called Don Martin Cortes, who was made knight of St. Jago, in consideration of the nobility of his mother's birth.

The Indians, with whom this woman conversed, informed Cortes, that the governor and captain-general of the province, by the order of the emperor Montezuma, had sent to

know, with what intention he came upon their coast? Cortes caressed the messengers, gave them some Spanish wine, and a few baubles; and answered, "That he came as  
 " a friend to treat of matters of importance to the prince and all his empire;  
 " for which purpose he would visit the  
 " two principals, and hoped to meet with  
 " as good usage from them, as others of  
 " his nation had hitherto received." And having been informed of the grandeur of Montezuma, his wealth and form of government, he sent them away well contented.

The next day the Spaniards landed near the fleet, with their horses and artillery, and he ordered the soldiers to cut fascines to entrench themselves. The artillery was planted so as to command the country, and they were soon all under cover. In the mean time Teutile, the Indian governor, sent a great number of his people with provisions, and orders to assist the Spaniards in their work; to whom they were of great use, bringing tools edged with flint, wherewith they cut stakes, which were driven into the ground, and interwoven with palm-branches, forming the walls and roofs of their lodgings with much ease and diligence. They also brought cotton cloths to cover the officers barracks, to keep off the heat of the sun. This care they took in helping the  
 Spaniards



Spaniards to provisions, and of assisting them in their buildings, was not without artifice; for they being terrified with their success at Tabasco, which had now spread over all the country, were resolved to have recourse to civilities, in order to oblige those they could not resist.

On Easter-day in the morning, Philpatoc the governor, and Teutile his captain-general, came to pay a visit to Cortes, with a numerous attendance. He received them in equal state, surrounded with his officers and soldiers. The first compliments being over, he carried them to the great barrack, which served for a chapel, and it being the hour of divine service, ordered Aguilar and Marina to tell them, that before he acquainted them with his intention, he was to comply with the duties of his religion. After service they returned to the general's barrack, who treated them with great plenty. Dinner over, Cortes called his interpreters, and with a determined air, said, He came thither to treat with the emperor Montezuma, on the part of Don Carlos of Austria, monarch of the East, touching affairs of great importance, for performing whereof it was necessary for him to appear before his royal presence.

The governors changed countenance at this proposal, and before they returned an answer, Teutile ordered a present he had

provided to be brought; when twenty or thirty Indians came in with provisions, fine cloths, feathers of several colours, and a great box, in which were several pieces of gold curiously wrought; of all which he desired the general's acceptance; adding, that he must not immediately think of prosecuting his voyage, it being no easy matter to speak with Montezuma. Cortes replied with some heat, That kings never refused to hear the ambassadors of other princes; and that they should let their emperor know, he came resolved to see him. This resolution of Cortes gave them so much uneasiness, that they durst not reply, only intreated him not to move from his quarters till the return of Montezuma's answer; offering to supply him with all necessaries, till that time, for the support of his foldiers.

Now Teutile proceeded to his own quarters, and dispatched an account to Montezuma of all that had happened on the coast, with Cortes's present, which consisted of several pieces of the most solid and brightest glass, a holland shirt, a cap of crimson velvet, adorned with a gold medal, and a tapestry chair, which the Indians thought a fit present for the emperor. The answer came in seven days, with a present from Montezuma that loaded 100 Indians, which Teutile brought to the Spanish quarters, and

and before he delivered his embassy he caused the things, of which the present was composed, to be laid on mats of palm-leaves. There were various sorts of cotton cloth as fine as silk ; a quantity of plumes and other curiosities made of feathers ; a great number of arms, bows, arrows, and targets ; two very large plates of a circular form, the one of gold representing the sun, the other of silver representing the moon ; and lastly, a large quantity of jewels, pieces of gold, some precious stones, collars of gold, rings, pendants after their fashion, and other ornaments of greater weight, in the shape of birds and beasts, so curiously wrought, that notwithstanding the value of the metal, it was exceeded by the workmanship. When Teutile had made these presents, he turned to Cortes, and told him, the emperor sent them to shew how much he valued the friendship of his sovereign ; but that he did not think it possible, in the present posture of affairs, the permission he asked of going to court would be granted ; but that the emperor promised to send an answer to his demand.

Whilst Montezuma's court was taken up with melancholy reflections, Cortes used all possible means to gain some account of the country : at that time Francisco Montejo returning from a voyage, and coasting some leagues to the westward, had discovered a

town called Quiabissan, situated in a fruitful soil, and well cultivated, with a good anchoring-place, under the shelter of some great rocks which broke the force of the winds. This town and bay were distant from St. Juan de Ulua about twelve leagues, and Cortes began to look upon it as a commodious situation; but before he came to a resolution, Montezuma's answer, with a second present, somewhat less, but of the same sort of goods, and pieces of gold, as came with the first embassy. All they brought particular, were four green stones like emeralds, which Montezuma had sent to the king of Spain, as jewels of an inestimable value. Teutile delivered the embassy in terms resolute and disagreeable; the conclusion of which was, that he must dismiss the guests without giving them leave to reply. Next morning the Spaniards however found great alterations, which caused them some disturbance; for those Indians who used to supply them with provisions had deserted their little army.

Hunger alone is sufficient to make some soldiers uneasy, nor is it to be wondered at, that the friends of Velasquez took this opportunity to exclaim, and said in common discourse, that Cortes had a mind to destroy them, by ambitiously pursuing a design without a force proportioned to the undertaking; and that it was now necessary for  
them

them all to demand of him to return to Cuba. — Cortes being informed of this mutinous spirit among his soldiers, made use of his confidants to enquire the opinions of the rest of his men, and finding the major part on his side, he shewed himself to the malecontents. Diego de Ordaz was the person who spoke for the disaffected, and with some heat and disrespect told him, that as his forces were very unequal to the attempt he was about to make, his soldiers thought it more prudent to return, and get such reinforcements, as might enable him to pursue his design with some probability of success. Cortes heard him with great calmness, and told him, if all the soldiers were of that opinion they were unfit for the enterprize, and he would think of returning. Hereupon Cortes published an order, signifying that he would constrain no person, but would cause a ship with all necessaries to be got ready for carrying back all those who had not courage enough to follow him and his adherents; and that he was determined to proceed with such as were willing to afford him their assistance.

This resolution met with great applause, and quelled the mutiny, the malecontents not now knowing what to say for themselves. At this time two centinels saw five Indians making towards the army along the sea coast, and suffered them to approach. Cortes ordered

dered them to be well treated before he heard them, having observed they were not Mexicans in their dress, tho' like them, having rings in their ears, and lips, adorned with jewels. When Aguilar and Marina came, it appeared that they were sent by the lord of Zempoalla to visit the captain of those valiant people, who being a warlike prince and a friend to brave men, desired his friendship. Cortes very courteously accepted of the alliance of their cazique, and asked the Indians some questions, to inform himself of the number of his forces: he next demanded, how it came to pass, that they had so long delayed coming with this proposal? They answered, that the Zempoallans had nothing to do with where the Mexicans appeared; that Montezuma was a cruel prince, and abhorred for his pride and tyranny, and that some nations were desirous to free themselves from his yoke. This made his power appear less formidable, and several stratagems of increasing the army came into Cortes's head; the first that occurred was to take part with those afflicted people, believing it would be no hard matter to form a party against a tyrant among his own rebels. He therefore dismissed those people with some presents, and told them he would soon pay a visit to their master.

His intent was to pass thro' the province, and take a view of Quiabitan, where he had

had thoughts of establishing his first settlement, from the good account he had received of its fertility ; but it behoved him, for other reasons, and for purposes he was then contriving how to compass, to hasten the forming his small corporation in his present quarters ; notwithstanding he was to remove the troops to a place more commodious. He communicated this resolution to those captains who were his confidents, and having smoothed the way for what he had to propose, he assembled the men, in order to name the officers of the new government : the inferior officers were at the same time appointed, and, having taken the usual oath to be faithful to the king, and to observe reason and justice, pursuant to their respective stations, they took possession, and began to exercise their new employments with the usual solemnity, calling their new settlement by the name of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz \*. Cortes was present as a private person among the members of the colony, and endeavoured to support the authority of the new governors,

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\* This new settlement went by the same name in the place where it was afterwards fixed, being called Villa Rica, in remembrance of the gold they had seen in that country, and de la Vera Cruz, in acknowledgement of their landing there on Good-Friday.

nors, and by shewing his respect, to reduce the others to obedience.

The morning following, a council was assembled to consult about some affairs relating to the augmentation of the new settlement. While they were sitting, Cortes desired admittance to propose something for the publick benefit. They rose up to receive him, and he paying his respect to the magistracy took his seat, then made a short speech, and threw upon the table the commission given him by Velasquez, kissed the truncheon, and delivered it into the hands of the first regidore, then retired to his barrack, having ordered matters so, as to be under no uneasiness at the event. The council soon resolved to admit the resignation of Cortes; but that he might be obliged to take upon him the command again, they gave him a commission in the name of the king.

Cortes accepted of the new command with great respect, and began to govern with another kind of authority. The dependants upon Velasquez, in a very indiscreet manner, began to invalidate the power of the council, and to cast reflections upon Cortes; who not being able to remedy this inconvenience by fair means, made use of severity, which generally has the best effect upon the insolent. He accordingly ordered Ordaz, with two more principal officers of his party, to be



be seized, carried on board the fleet, and put in irons. At first he suffered none to go near them; but afterwards permitted some of his confidents to do it, artfully making use of this expedient to reduce them to reason, which in time they effected, he suffering himself to be pacified so effectually, that he made them his friends, and they stood by him faithfully, in all the accidents which afterwards befel him, believing that they owed their lives to his clemency only.

During the time of these officers imprisonment, Cortes sent Alverado, one of his captains, with 100 men, to view the country, and bring in provisions, who was ordered to commit no hostilities. At a little distance, he found some villages; the inhabitants of which had fled into the woods, but left their houses well provided. Thus he executed his commission with little trouble. The soldiers returned laden, and very well pleased. Cortes immediately ordered his ships to sail for the bay of Quiabiscan; he followed by land, taking the road of Zempoalla. In a few hours they came to the river, and finding it deep, they were obliged to make use of the canoes and fishing vessels which they found on the shore, making their horses swim over. Soon after, Cortes arrived at some houses in the district of Zempoalla, but finding them forsaken by

the Indians, as also their temples and idols, and seeing the remains of human victims scattered on the ground, he was moved with compassion. In the temples they found three or four Mexican books, made of a long, thin cloth, which they imagined contained the rites of their religion, all wrote in cyphers.

Next morning the army marched to Zempoalla. The town was large and pleasant, situated between two rivers. The buildings were of stone, and afforded a beautiful prospect at a distance. The streets were full of people, who came to see Cortes make his entry, without any arms that could give suspicion. The cazique came to the gates of his palace to meet him; but he was oppressed with fatness, and approached with difficulty, being supported by some nobles. His habit was a mantle of fine cotton, enriched with jewels and pendants, which he also wore in his ears and lips. The soldiers laughed at the sight of him. Cortes rebuked them; and as soon as the cazique began his speech, he shewed his good sense, and commanded respect. He provided good quarters for Cortes and his men, in which, he told the general, he would pay him a visit, and talk with him privately about their common interests, when he had more leisure. Cortes was pleased with the quarters as well as his Soldiers, and they were

were plentifully supplied with every thing they wanted. Soon after the cazique sent a present of gold and jewels, and came himself the day following with a splendid attendance, in a chair, supported on the shoulders of his chief domestics. Cortes went out to meet him attended by all his captains, and giving him the right hand, retired into a private apartment to talk with him, by his interpreters, without witnesses. After having set forth the grandeur of his king, the intent of his coming, and the errors of idolatry, he proceeded to tell him, that those valiant troops were arrived in order to redress wrongs, punish violence, and to do justice to an injured people. The chief replied with a sigh, that all the caziques were groaning under the tyranny of Montezuma, but that he was too powerful and strong for them or him, to declare themselves enemies to so great a monarch. Cortes answered, that he did but little regard Montezuma's power, having justice on his side; and was resolved to march against him; by this resolution, he gained the good will of his guest.

The Spanish army being ready to march, they found 400 Indians provided to carry their baggage and provisions, and to assist in conducting the artillery. At sun-set they came to a little village unpeopled. Here they halted, and entering Quiabisan next morning, they took possession of it, without

any difficulty, the cazique with the inhabitants having retired to an eminence to watch their motions. They were some time before they could find any person to give them the least information ; till coming into a large square where the temples stood, they saw 15 Indians approaching, handsomely dressed after their manner. Cortes received them civilly, and made them presents of blue and green beads ; on which good treatment, they gave him to understand, that the cazique had withdrawn himself to prevent a war, and that it was not possible for him to hinder the flight of the inhabitants ; but as soon as they should be made sensible of the goodness of such a guest, they would instantly return, and account it a happiness to serve and obey them. Some time after the cazique returned, and brought with him the cazique of Zempoalla, whom he also gained over to his party, and having increased the number of his allies, he founded the city of Vera Cruz, where he gave audience to the ambassadors from the emperor of Mexico ; who arrived just as the new settlement and fortress were compleated. These ambassadors were Montezuma's nephews, and young men ; but were attended by four ancient princes as counsellors. They told Cortes, that the emperor was resolved to chastise the cazique, who had entered into an alliance with him, and that they hoped  
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he would soon quit the country, as the obstacles which hindered his coming to court were in their nature unsurmountable. He heard them with great temper, received their presents with respect, treated them with kindness, made them handsome presents, and sent a proper return to Montezuma: but at the same time declared, the importance of his commission was such, that at all events he must pursue his journey; this highly disgusted the ambassadors, but proved useful with regard to his allies, who now really believed that Cortes was something more than man. — A short time after the cazique of Zempoalla, with some principal Indians, came to Vera Cruz, complaining that some troops of Mexicans were arrived in his district, destroying the corn fields, and committing other hostilities. Cortes immediately marched out with four hundred of his troops, against these enemies of his allies, leaving the rest of his army in the fortress of Vera Cruz. As they passed by Zempoalla, he found 2000 armed Indians, whom the cazique had ordered to serve under him in this expedition. Cortes continued his march to Zimpazingo, and just as he was preparing to attack the town, there came out of it eight priests, who enquired for the captain of the army. Their outward garment was a black mantle which reached to the ground, with the upper part placed about the

neck, with a piece hanging loose in form of a hood. Their hair reached to their shoulders, clodded with the blood of human sacrifices. These priests soon convinced Cortes, that he had been imposed on, that Montezuma's troops were long ago retired, and that this was an artifice of his allies, who were their enemies, to make him an instrument of their destruction. Cortes, on a farther examination into the affair, found that the priest had spoken truth, and soon after the cazique of Zimpazingo, with other Indian princes, came to visit him in his lodging, with whom, on their submission, he entered into an alliance, and with his troops, marched back to Zempoalla. The lord himself was near, waiting for the general with provisions, and having told him that the troops of the emperor made them uneasy, and they could now have wished, that, for their greater security, the Spaniards had never left their own colony : but as they were now all of one nation, they should take their women, and accordingly brought with him eight beautiful damsels, the daughters of principal persons, with gold necklaces, pendants in their ears, and their attendance ; the cazique saying, seven of them were designed for the captains, and the other, who was his neice, for Cortes ; but before he would receive the ladies, he insisted that idolatry should be abolished. He, the cazique, alledged, that if they destroyed their  
I gods

gods, they would punish them severely, and that they could not hope for success in the war. Cortes instantly dissipated their terror, taking that upon himself; and when their idols were destroyed, he readily accepted the ladies, in spite of all the pains the priests took to prevent it. By accepting the ladies, the Indians henceforward looked upon them not only as their allies, but as countrymen.

Cortes having thus concluded a league with the Zempoallans, marched back to his new colony. The same day he came to it, a ship arrived from Cuba, under the command of Francisco de Salcedo, which brought captain Martin, with a mare, and ten soldiers, also a good horse for Salcedo. These people brought advice, that James Velasquez had received the king's commission to trade and make settlements in the new discovered countries which had been granted him.. The forces having been now three months in old Spain, and the fort almost made defensible, they proposed to go up the country: but it was resolved, in the first place, to send some persons to the king to advise him of what had been done, and to carry him a fifth of all the wealth they had gained. Cortes gave these deputies ample instructions, with a particular account of what he had done both here and at Cuba. The magistrates of Vera Cruz wrote another letter; the captains and soldiers signed a third, humbly intreating his majesty to bestow the government

ment of that country, which should be by them discovered and subdued to Cortes, whom they had chosen for their commander. Alonso Puerto Carrero, and captain de Montejo, were pitched upon to go on this errand. The general gave them the best ships, and appointed Antony Alaminos their pilot, who, to avoid coming near Cuba, sailed thro' the channel of Bahama. They left Vera Cruz July 26, 1719, and arrived safe at St. Lucar in October following. Benedict Martin was then at Seville, in order to carry over the king's dispatches to Velasquez at Cuba. He informed the officers of the India House, that these deputies were not in the king's service, so they seized the ship and the whole cargo, but sent the present for the king to Valladolid, whither the deputies, the pilot, and the father of Cortes followed.

When these deputies were gone from Vera Cruz, some of the friends of Velasquez, among whom was John Diaz, contrived to run away in a small vessel to Cuba; but one of them repenting, gave notice of their intention to Cortes; he ordered all the sails to be taken from the ships, and secured the fugitives, ordering two of them to be hanged; but forgave Diaz, because he was a clergyman. Cortes, now intent on his journey to Mexico, resolved to sink all his ships, to deprive the friends of Velasquez of all hopes of returning to Cuba, and being persuaded



persuaded that the mariners, consisting of 100 men, would be a great help to his soldiers, and bear part of their fatigues. Accordingly the anchors, sails, guns, iron-work, and all that was of use, being brought on shore, they were all sunk except the boats. This bold stroke of our Hero's policy, was scarcely executed, before his governor of Vera Cruz advised him of the arrival of a small squadron on the coast; whereupon he marched back thither with all his forces; but found that those ships were fitted out by the governor of Jamiaca, and designed to set bound to his conquests, under pretence that they first discovered the country of Panuco, and had traded with the inhabitants for many thousand pounds worth of gold. He grew easier on this advice, being resolved to give a check to their scheme, that he might have no more rivals to disturb him. In order to this, he marched with a small party to the sea-shore, and having inticed about 20 of the crew to land, all whom he seized, and the rest, observing what had happened, went off. These men being well used, enlisted in his service. He resuming his march towards Mexico, advanced as far as Zocoltan, where he received advice of the mighty strength of Montezuma, which struck some of his people with ill-boding apprehensions. The Indian chief at this place, and in whose house he lodged,

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was lord over 20,000 people, had 30 wives in his house, 100 women to wait upon him, and 2000 servants. The town was large, containing 13 temples, with abundance of idols made of stone, to which they sacrificed men, women, children, turtles, &c. burning perfumes, with great veneration. Montezuma had 5000 men in garrison, in this town and territory, and the governor's name was Olintel. Cortes staid nine days to refresh the men, then demanded twenty soldiers for his guides, and set out towards Tlascala, sending before him four Zempoallans, with a letter and a red hat, a sword and cross-bow, ordering these messengers to tell the magistrates of the town, that he was sent by a mighty prince, to deliver them from the oppression they laboured under. The messengers, on their arrival, were conducted to the town-house, where one of the lords of the republic bid them sit down, and said they were welcome; after they had delivered the present they withdrew, till they had received an answer from the whole assembly, which was summoned on the occasion. Eight days had passed, and the messengers were not returned to Cortes, he therefore resolved to advance with his forces. At the end of the valley he found a great wall of dry stones, a fathom and half high, with a parapet. This reached across the valley, having only one entrance, through which

which Cortes passed, and when they had advanced about a league they came to a wood of pine-trees, with abundance of thread and papers tangled round them, crossing the road, by which their forcerers pretended to disable the Spaniards. When they were got three leagues from the wall, they hastened their march, because it was late. Coming to the top of a hill, two horsemen that went foremost fell in with 16 Indians, armed with swords and targets, who, as soon as they saw the Spaniards, ran away; but on finding their horses would overtake them, they drew up together and killed two, having almost cut off their heads. They after this retired, brandishing their swords, without shewing fear; but Cortes observing a body of 5 or 6000 coming to their relief, ordered them to be run thro' with spears. Before the infantry could come up, the body of Indians attacked the horsemen, who killed many with their spears. As soon as the Indians saw the Spanish infantry appear, they made off; when two of the messengers that Cortes had sent to Tlascala, returned with some presents from the republic, who said they were sorry for the rudeness of those barbarous people, who had committed such disorder without leave; and that they would willingly pay for the horses, these Otomies, as they called them, had killed. Tho' Cortes was sensible of the falseness of these messengers,

gers, he thanked them for the offer, adding, he should soon be with them, but he would take no pay for the horses, because he could have more brought from the same place where these had been bred, whenever he sent for them. The messengers returned home, carrying with them about ten Indians killed in the action. At night Cortes encamped near a brook; the next day they came to several of the Otomie's houses, where they found some dead of their wounds, and set all their dwellings on fire.

Soon after the Tlascalans army appeared; and the number of men was so great, that they covered the plain. They marched orderly, being divided into two columns, but crowded together. When they drew near the Spaniards, they halted, with a deep trench before them. Cortes shewed himself highly pleased at the sight of them, and told the men, that God gave them that opportunity for his glory, which would strike a terror, not only into Montezuma, but into all that world. The Tlascalans, proud of so mighty an army, and encouraged by the small number of the Spaniards, puffed up with their usual success against their neighbouring enemies, sent them 300 turkeys, 200 baskets of cakes, and 5000 weight of bread, which was an extraordinary supply to the Spaniards, considering the distress they were in, and this was done, that they might be in better

better case, and taste more deliciously when sacrificed. When they thought the Spaniards had eaten, Xicotencatl, the general of the Tlascalans, commanded 2000 of his men to go and take those creatures the sea had spewed up, and if they made any resistance, to kill them. They accordingly advanced with intrepidity. The Spanish horse went first to meet them, the infantry followed, and soon made them retire a little, but they, as soon returned again with double fury; when they were fully convinced that those few men were not to be slighted. In the retreat they were most of them slain. The general seeing what had happened, fell on so boldly, that many of the Indians fought with the Spaniards, hand to hand. The battle lasted four hours, in which time a vast number of the Tlascalans were killed, and when it grew late the rest retired.

The next day Cortes, marched into the country, burnt some towns, and plundered one that had 3000 inhabitants, but most of the men being gone to the army: He fired the town, took a great number of prisoners, and returned to his quarters. The next day the Tlascalans, thinking to gain more advantage over the Spaniards, in narrow places, in a haughty manner sent them provisions again, challenging them to come into some streight, but finding they would

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not, boldly began the attack again. They fought five hours, with great resolution; without being able to kill one Spaniard. At length, tired and ashamed that they had not executed their malice, they retired in confusion. Next morning the commanders sent messengers unto Cortes, who thus addressed him: "Sir, if you are a fierce God, here are slaves for you to eat: if you are a good God, we offer you incense and feathers: if you are a man, take fowls, bread and cherries, for you and your subservients to eat." Their design was to know whether the Spaniards were men, like themselves; because they had not been able to vanquish, or so much as kill one, they concluded they were immortal. Cortes, who never wanted presence of mind, said they were no more than men; but because they believed in, and served one only true God, he did, and would always assist them; he then advised them, not to deal treacherously with him, or to remain obstinate, as he desired to do them no harm, but to be their friend; having delivered himself thus, he returned thanks for the present, and sent them away.

Next morning 30,000 Tlascalans advanced with desire to gain honour, or die in the field. They fought bravely, and this battle was more bloody than the former, but at length they retired. After this the Spaniards continued ten days in these quarters, being

being constantly supplied by the Indians with fowls, bread and cherries, only that they might have the opportunity of viewing their order and situation; for being intent upon seeking revenge, and finding they could do nothing by force, they had recourse to policy; and in order to lull the Spaniards into security, they sent men of note to them with gold and feathers. These behaved in a very submissive manner to Cortes, and the eldest of them told him, that the republic had sent that small present, which was not so inconsiderable for want of good will, but by reason of the poverty of the country. Cortes thinking these messengers had been sincere, pleasantly told them, that tho' he valued the presents, he should much more value their friendship and alliance. The next day fifty men were sent with provisions, who asked how the soldiers did, and what they meant to do? These men growing familiar walked about the camp, and remarked every thing, particularly the horses teeth. A Zempoallan gentlemen taking notice of it, told Cortes, that he believed they were spies. Cortes instantly ordered one of them to be seized and brought before him, who being examined, and threatened, confessed, that they were sent to discover which way they might burn the barracks. This account being confirmed by others, he caused the hands of seven of these men to be

cut off, and the thumbs of others, and bid them tell their general, that he would serve all the spies that fell into his hands after the same manner. On the information of these 50 spies, Cortes set about fortifying his camp, and enlarging the trenches till sunset, at which time he perceived the enemy's army advancing; and judging it not convenient to let them come up to his quarters, he marched out to meet them, having furnished all the horses with large breast plates, full of hawk's-bells, ordering them to strike the enemy on their faces, with the spears; because they were apt to lay hold of them, and carry them away. At the very time when the spies, who had their hands cut off, were telling what had befallen them to their general, Cortes fell upon them with his forces; they being astonished at this unexpected assault, immediately dispersed themselves and fled.

Xicotencatl, with the other lords of the republic of Tlascala, being ashamed of the many defeats they had met with in this war, returned to that city. Cortes seeing them in the open country, went to the top of a temple, where he discovered several towns, and resolved to go on and try his fortune, that very night. Before it was day, they came to some villages, and being informed, that they were near a large town, they soon made themselves masters of it, without any person



person being killed, or any thing taken away. Here Cortes went up to a high place, whence he discovered such a multitude of houses, that he was astonished, and asking what places those were, received for answer, it was the city of Tlascala, and the villages about it. Then turning to his chief captain, he asked him what was best to be done, considering the multitude of people they had seen? He answered, that they should return to the sea, and send to Velasquez for supplies, because if any cross accident happened, they must inevitably be all devoured by the Indians. Cortes was much troubled at this answer, and calmly replied; it was certainly much better to die in the prosecution of their design, than in running away; and big with reflection, he went to rest himself by a spring without the town, whither the chiefs of the country resorted to him, with a large quantity of provisions. They thanked him for having done no hurt, as he might; offered to obey him, and to intercede with the lords of Tlascala for a peace. He entertained them civilly, promised them his friendship, and returned to his quarters.

Soon after six Mexican lords arrived, attended by 200 persons; who being brought before Cortes, made him profound obedience, and before they spoke, delivered to him a present from their sovereign, consisting of

1000 cotton garments, several curious pieces of feather-work, and 1000 castelano's in very fine gold dust, as it is taken out of the mines. Then the eldest of them said, that their master Montezuma saluted him, sent the present by them, and wished him well, but desired he would not go to Mexico, because the road was very bad and dangerous. Cortes told them they were welcome, and that he would consider of their message. He then gave orders they should be well treated, but being at that time indisposed, had not marched into the country for some days. The enemy fancying this proceeded from some loss they were not acquainted with, prepared to attack him. Cortes, tho' he had that day taken physic got on horseback, fought a long time in person, and omitted nothing that could be done, till the enemy was routed and fled, the Mexican ambassadors being present, and observing every circumstance of the action. The Tlascalans, now sued for peace, and young Xicotencatl, was appointed to go to Cortes on this embassy, attended by 50 principal men of the city, and some youths to be left as hostages. Cortes being informed of his arrival went out to meet him, and conducted him to his quarters, with much honour, and great attendance, where the Tlascalan begged pardon for what was past, offered to enter into a strict alliance with the Spaniards, and to

to serve them faithfully for the future. Cortes told him, that notwithstanding what was past, they might depend upon his friendship, and on his coming among them.

On the return of the ambassador, the senate of Tlascala assembled, and judging that it imported them highly to secure the friendship of Cortes, in order to have his protection against Montezuma, they resolved to bring him into the city as soon as possible. The Mexicans were greatly concerned at this alliance, and bid Cortes be careful of trusting these people, who were very treacherous, and when they once got them into the city, they would murder them every man. Cortes, however, was determined to go, and having declared his resolution to the Mexicans, they desired he would give one of them leave to go first to Mexico. He was very well pleased with this proposal; because it gave him time to see if the friendship of the Tlascalans was sincere, and how this alliance was taken at Mexico. While things stood thus, the new allies came to bring provisions, to get acquainted with the Spaniards, and to invite them to come to their city. On the 6th day the messenger returned from Mexico, and brought ten golden vessels well wrought, with 1500 cotton garments; and in Montezuma's name intreated him not to expose himself by going to Tlascala. On the  
other

other hand, the four lords of this great city had already sent to importune him to repair thither, protesting their friendship should last for ever. Cortes concluding that so much courtesy must proceed from sincerity, and being much intreated by the Zempoallans, began his march, first sending word to Esculante, and the garrison he had left at Vera Cruz, of the success it had pleased God to give him; and directing them, to proceed in strengthening the fort, to keep a watchful eye upon the natives, more especially upon the ships that should come from Cuba. When he arrived at Tlascala, on the 18th of Sept. 1519, the Lords of the four quarters of the city came out to meet him, attended by the greatest persons of the republic, and above 100,000 men. The prime nobility came up in good order, and young Xicotencatl embraced Cortes, as did the other lords, then they all proceeded to the place where he and his men were to be quartered. They and the Zempoallans, with the other Indians their friends, were quartered at the great temple, and supplied with all necessaries; and the more to assure Cortes of their affection, they presented him with 300 beautiful women, all well dressed, who had been condemned to be sacrificed. Cortes refused them, alledging, that their religion would not permit any man to have more than one wife, and she a Christian.

At

At last, in regard of the Indians taking it ill to have their gifts refused, some of them were received, under pretence of serving Donna Marina, who was present at all conferences. The Indians observing, that these and other women slaves lived contentedly with the Spaniards, the prime nobility afterwards gave them their daughters, that the race of those brave men might continue among them. Cortes now began to enquire particularly into the power and condition of Montezuma, and of the enmity between him and the republic. The bringing over this people to his interest, and uniting them in the confederacy against Montezuma, was one of the greatest strokes of policy that was shewn by Cortes, and without which, it had been impossible for him to have succeeded in his enterprize. Before we proceed farther, therefore, it will not be amiss to give an account of this celebrated republic, which makes so great a figure in the history of the new world\*.

Cortes

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\* The town of Tlascala is situated in a temperate climate, in a soil exceeding fruitful, the whole district about 50 leagues in extent. It is built among rocks and white cliffs, so as to provide for security, rather than beauty. It was from this situation that it derived the name of Tlascala, which signifies a place among rocks; or Tlascalan, which some Spaniards allow, implies

Cortes being come into Tlascala, to please Maxiscatin, one of the four lords that governed the republic, removed into his quarter of the town, where the other three came, to desire him to acquaint them with his intentions. He told them, that he was come to deliver them from the tyranny of Montezuma, and to assist them against all

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*implies a place well stored with corn, and consequently belonged as justly to this city, as any other hereabout. But why should we not rather suppose this city had originally two names; the first imposed by their enemies, the latter by themselves. There was a fine river passed thro' their territory, and washed a part of the city, which usually overflowed in the winter, and thereby greatly enriched the soil; but sometimes over-run its banks with such violence, as to do a great deal of mischief, and rendered dykes necessary, which they wanting skill to raise; thus the town was divided into parcels at small distances, without any order. From the city there stretched out other towns, extending two or three leagues beyond the walls: every house had land about it, and there were 18 towns adjacent belonging to the capital, the inhabitants being above 100,000. All the country round this province, was inclosed by Mexicans, who had maintained war against Tlascala for 60 years past. At last the Tlascalans drove these invaders out of their country, kept it to themselves, settled the boundaries, and formed it into a common wealth. The Otomies, a barbarous people, who had revolted from the Mexicans, had lands given them to cultivate, on condition they would guard the frontiers; these were the first that took up arms against the Spaniards.*

their

their enemies. They offered to join him, if he would make war, or to bear him company, if he only designed to visit the emperor at Mexico. Having made the necessary preparations, Cortes, after twenty days stay at Tlascala, marched towards Chulula, attended by 100,000 men. They reached not the city that day, but night coming on, they encamped at the distance of five leagues, where many of the Chululans came to Cortes, and implored him not to permit the Tlascalans to do them any harm. He, seeing no signs of war, ordered them to return home, retaining only 6000, whose valour he could depend upon. The next day, above 10,000 of the citizens came forth to meet him, bringing roses, bread, fowl, and music. One great body came to welcome Cortes, then drew off to make way for another; this was done, because the city being divided into six wards, three of them were for Montezuma, and three were not. When they entered the city, all the people came out in surprize. The priests advancing in surplices, their arms naked, with cotton fringes about the edges of their garments. Some carried idols in their hands, others burned incense, others sounded horns, beat kettle-drums, and played on several sorts of music.

In this pompous manner they entered the city, lodged all together, and their Indians  
with

with them, always upon guard, being plentifully supplied with all necessaries. A few days after, Cortes observed very suspicious circumstances; Montezuma having sent fresh agents, with 30,000 Mexicans, which were posted without the city, to take all the Spaniards; some of the citizens began to remove their effects. While Cortes was meditating how to extricate himself from these difficulties, Marina informed him, that a lady of quality having taken a liking to her, advised her to come to her house, and quit the Spanish quarters, if she hoped to save her life, as the Mexicans had agreed to destroy them. Upon this, Cortes caused two priests to be seized, who, being examined asunder, confessed the same as Marina had declared. Cortes immediately ordered his men to arms, the horses to be ready, and the Indians, his allies, to observe when the signal was given, by the firing of a musket. This done, he called the chief of the Chululans to take his leave of them, as he pretended. Forty were admitted, but the chief being absent, he was ordered to appear. On his coming in, Cortes, in presence of the Mexican ambassadors, accused them all of perfidy, told them his men had been offensive, that he had done all they desired as a friend; but finding they still treated him as an enemy, had agreed with the Mexicans to destroy him and



and his forces by treachery, for which offence he had resolved to put them all to death, and raze their city. They were for a while struck dumb, but when they had recovered a little, said, "This man is like our Gods, who know all things, it is in vain to deny any thing." Then taking some of them aside, he asked for what reason they would have done this wicked deed? They answered, that Montezuma's ambassadors had put them upon it, that he might not proceed to Mexico.

Soon after the signal of firing the musket was given, the Spaniards sallied out, and killed 6000 inhabitants, without hurting either woman or child; and then set fire to all the towers and houses where any resistance was made. A great part of the city was plundered, the Spaniards taking the gold and feathers; the Indians the cotton and salt, which were by them esteemed a great booty. The news of what had happened was immediately carried to Tlascala, where the lords ordered their general Xicotencatl to march with all speed to his assistance. The lords that were prisoners intreated Cortes to put a stop to his resentment, seeing they were not so much to blame as the king of Mexico. He thereupon ordered the slaughter to cease; and set the lords and gentlemen he had taken at liberty; he then proposed a reconciliation

X

ation between them and the Tlascalans, and by his advice the city of Chulula was made a republic as well as the other.

Montezuma being informed of all that passed, finding that nothing could divert Cortes from coming to Mexico, sent ambassadors, with four large dishes of gold, and a great quantity of provisions, with orders to assure him, that he knew nothing of the design of the inhabitants of Chulula, and that he might freely come to Mexico if he thought proper. As this flattering message was false in itself, so the conduct of the emperor at home, was base and mean spirited: for when he heard that his plot was discovered, he shut himself up in the temple for a whole week, and sacrificed a multitude of poor innocent men to his Gods. The next day Cortes marched, to a large town called Amafcameca; the lord came out to meet him, and gave him forty women slaves, the value of 3000 pieces of eight in gold; and two days provisions; complaining in private of Montezuma's tyranny. Next morning before they set out, numbers of people came from Mexico, with many gentlemen attending on Montezuma's nephew, a youth of about 26 years old. He was richly clad, and carried on men's shoulders in a sort of sedan. Cortes came out, and brought him, with twelve noblemen, into his tent. The prince insisted that it was not fit

fit for him to go to Mexico ; but he held on his way, and it was wonderful to see what multitudes of people came from the city and suburbs, to see the Spaniards. At length Cortes arrived at Yatacpalapa, which is about two leagues from Mexico, and joined to it by a causeway, so broad, that eight horsemen may go a-breast, On the causeway were three draw-bridges over the openings, which run out of one lake into another. The fresh water lake lies much higher than the salt, and tho' it runs into it, does not mix much, because of the causeways that part them. Cortes had with him but 300 Spaniards, and 6000 Indian confederates : when they drew near Mexico, where another causeway joined the former, they found a stone bulwark two fathoms high, with two towers at the ends, and between them a breast-work with two gates. There Cortes halted, because two thousand gourtiars, all in the same livery, came out to meet him, who made their obeysance and returned to the place from whence they came. To this place Montezuma came to meet Cortes, under a canopy of green feathers and gold, carried on the heads of four lords. As soon as Cortes saw him he alighted from his horse, and drawing near saluted him after the manner of Spain. Montezuma touched the ground with his hand and kissed it, a ceremony used by the Indians, then

X 2

bid

bid him welcome, Cortes returned him thanks, and put about his neck a collar of fine glass, precious stones, and some enamel. The king being highly pleased with this present, that he might not be thought to fall short in any thing that became a great prince, he sent two lords of his bed-chamber for two collars of large red prawns as big as walnuts, at every one of which hung eight gold prawns wrought to the life, and about half a foot long. When brought, he stopped till Cortes came up, and with his own hands threw them about his neck. The Spaniards were astonished at the multitudes of people, and after a long time passing thro' them came to a very large court, which was the wardrobe of the idols. At the door of which the Emperor took Cortes by the hand, and led him into a room adorned with precious stones, where having placed him in a chair of state, said, "you are in your own house, eat, rest, and take your pleasure." Cortes paid his respects, but spoke not a word \*.

When

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\* *Such was the reception Montezuma gave Cortes. They were lodged in a house that contained so many large rooms with bed-chambers, as 150 Spaniards could all lie single. It is worthy observation, also, that tho' these apartments were so spacious, every part*

When they had dined, and slept, the emperor returned; Cortes went out to meet him, and soon after they entered into a long conference, in which Montezuma shewed himself a great politician, and a perfect master in the art of dissimulation; he told him that the ancestors of the Mexicans came from a foreign land, and had not been settled there above a century. That they were countrymen, and he regarded them as brothers; that they were free to take what they pleased, and amuse themselves the best way they could. Cortes took a view of the city, and passed his days agreeably enough for some time; but before he had formed any scheme for fixing the Spaniards in that country, things began to take another turn. One of Montezuma's generals had ravaged the countries of his allies, and killed Esculante, the governor of Vera Cruz, who marched out to their assistance.

This news affected Cortes exceedingly, and he determined to seize the person of Montezuma. He meditated upon the scheme all night, and called a council of war the

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*part of them, was neat, clean, matted, and hung with cotton and feather-work of various colours; and had beds of mats with pavilions over them. There was fire with perfumes in every chamber, and so many servants, as sufficiently discovered his grandeur.*

next morning, in which it was unanimously agreed upon : and the design, however surprising, being contrived with great wisdom, was executed with no less spirit and success. Cortes first possessed himself of all the avenues leading to the palace, and went thither himself, attended by five of his principal officers, having ordered thirty private men to follow at a distance. Montezuma came out to receive them, and they all took their seats. When Donna Maria and Aguilar were come up, Cortes began his complaint against the captain, who attacked his confederates, and spilled the blood of a Spaniard after they had made him prisoner. He then exposed in proper colours, the excuse made by Qualpapoca, that being the name of the Mexican general, who declared he had undertaken this unjustifiable war, by the emperor's express orders. But Montezuma denied it. Cortes told him, he believed what he said; and that so great a man could never be guilty of so base an act; but it would be proper he should remove from his palace, and live with the Spaniards, till such time as that general, whom he immediately sent for, arrived. The emperor, for some time, refused to hear of it; nor could Cortes have gained his consent, if Donna Marina had not interposed; who told him, she was his subject, and had his interest at heart;

heart; but in this present case, the dispute was, Whether he would chuse to lose his life, or a temporary liberty? Let us go then, said he, to your quarters, since it can be no otherwise.

As soon as he was brought into the apartment, Cortes set a guard over him, and his own servants waited on him, as did the Spaniards. Here he decided law-suits, dispatched all business, speaking either in public or private to any person. While things remained in this situation, Qualpapoca arrived, and was going to excuse himself; but Montezuma would not hear him, ordering that he, his son, and the rest who came with him, should be delivered into the hands of Cortes, who caused them to be fettered and examined, when they all averred, that they killed the Spaniards by Montezuma's order. After this, Qualpapoca, his son, and the rest, were conducted to a large square, where they were bound hand and foot, thrown upon a pile, and burnt alive. After this confession was made, and while these officers were carrying to execution, Cortes went to Montezuma, and accusing him of murder, commanded him to be put in irons; but as soon as the execution was over, he ordered him to be released. Not long after, the Indian monarch declared the king of Spain his successor, and did homage to  
Cortes

Cortes as his representative, before the general assembly \*.

The general, when perfectly pleased with his present situation, received orders from the emperor to depart from Mexico with all his soldiers; and soon after received advice of an army of Spaniards landing in these dominions. This army was formed by Velasquez for the destruction of Cortes,

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\* *The Mexicans were confounded on this determination, and looking upon it as a thing unbecoming the majesty of so great a Monarch, remained silent for some time, when the prime minister took upon him to speak for the rest, saying, "That all the nobles, who composed that august body, respected him as their natural sovereign, and should be ready to follow his example, not doubting but that he had consulted with heaven, and was informed of the will of their Gods." The assembly agreed in the same sentiment; and Cortes when it came to his turn, dictated to his interpreters, a speech no less artful than the former, in which he gave thanks to Montezuma, and all that were present, for this demonstration of their respect, accepting their service in the name of his king, but rather as one who receives his debt, and is pleased with the payment of it. Hereupon the emperor took immediate care to collect gold and jewels, suitable to his dignity, and the nobility followed his example. All these rich gifts were carried to Cortes's apartment, from which they melted down 600,000 pesos of fine gold in bars, a fifth of which was reserved for the king; a second fifth for Cortes, and the remainder to the officers and soldiers, including those that were at Vera Cruz.*

and



and arrived at Vera Cruz under the command of Narvaez. Cortes was at a great loss to know how to behave on this occasion; when Sandoval, his governor at Vera Cruz, sent him some of these new comers prisoners. He went out to receive them, with more than ordinary attendance, ordered their fetters to be taken off, and embracing them with great humility, conducted them to his own apartment, gave the chief of them his own table; and after four days set them all at liberty: in the mean time he sent orders to Sandoval, to quit Vera Cruz, and leave it to the care of the confederate Indians, that he might bring the greatest force he could to join him; being resolved to march against Narvaez. Of this he informed Montezuma, who accompanied him as far as the causeway, and wished him good success. Cortes's friends who were with Narvaez, being informed that he drew near, sent an officer, who had some influence over him, to propose an accommodation, which he rejected, attacking the enemy in the night, and after a short dispute defeated them, and took Narvaez prisoner; then returned to Mexico, where he met with fresh troubles, and had several bloody engagements, in one of which he received a contusion on the knee, and soon after Montezuma was killed by his own subjects.

After

After the death of the emperor, the Spaniards retreated with great difficulty from the city, taking the road towards the Tlascalcan territories : but the Mexicans having divided their army into different parts, marched with such expedition, that they got before the Spaniards, and covered the whole valley of Otumba, which is a spacious plain, where they might wait for the enemy undiscovered, and attack them with advantage \*.

The Spanish army perceiving the fresh danger for which they were prepared ; Cortes began to examine the countenances of his people, and finding them inspired with resentment, thus addressed them, " Our case is now such, that we must either conquer or die " The cause — he had time to say no more. The soldiers cried out for the word

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\* The captain-general of the army was distinguished in the centre of the multitude, borne upon men's shoulders in a litter sumptuously adorned, in such a manner, that being witness of every man's behaviour, his orders might be punctually executed. Upon this litter stood erect the royal standard of Mexico, which was not intrusted in any other hand but his ; and that could only be brought into the field in cases of the greatest exigence. This standard was a net of massy gold hanging on a pike, and crowned with a plume of feathers of various colours, both one and the other mysteriously denoting a superiority.

of

of command. He then advanced with his front extended, united the body of the army, and the wings of the horse were to secure the rear. The fire-arms and cross-bows made their first discharge so opportunely, that they put to flight those troops which designed to enclose them. The Tlascalans threw themselves into the thickest of the battle, and assisted with the fire arms of the Spaniards made such a slaughter, as the field appeared like a sea of men, the perpetual flux and reflux of the Mexicans seeming to justify that comparison. Cortes fought on horseback, carrying death and terror wherever he came; the bitter slaughter of the Indians concerned him greatly; and reflecting upon what measures he might take to get into the road, he remember'd to have heard, among the Mexicans, that their battles depended upon the royal standard, the loss of which decided the fortune of the day. For this reason he resolved to make an effort for gaining it. Accordingly he attacked on that part of their army which was least distant from the centre, with the Spanish horse, who treading under foot whole battallions, without much opposition arrived at the imperial standard, and while his captains were dispersing the numerous guard of nobles which defended it, Cortes closed with the captain general of the Mexicans, who, on the first stroke of his lance fell, when Juan Sala-

Salamanca, a private gentlemen, leaping from his horse put an end to his life, and gave the standard into the hands of Cortes. The neighbouring mountains were immediately covered with the flying army of the Mexicans, and in a few moments the field of battle remained to the Spaniards. The spoil was given to the soldiers, which was very considerable. Near 20,000 Indians lost their lives in this engagement. On the side of the Spaniards, some were wounded, of whom two or three died at Tlascala. After this defeat the Mexicans sent a solemn embassy to Tlascala, in hopes of gaining that republic over to their interest, but being disappointed, the Spaniards renewed the war with success against the Tepeacans, whom they reduced, and settled a new colony there, which Cortes called *Sicura de la Frontera*, that is the security of the frontier. This done, he unexpectedly received considerable reinforcements from Spain, and hereupon resolved to recover the capital of Mexico. While he was making preparations for this expedition, and before he entered upon it, he determined to send over fresh agents to Spain, to procure for himself a commission, and to press his majesty for more succours. He sent these dispatches by the captains Mendoca and Ordaz, with private instructions not to discover the purport of their commission, till they should find his father and

and the two agents who were sent the year before. With these agents he sent a second present to the emperor, consisting of gold and other rarities of an immense value: some little time after they arrived at Seville having a prosperous voyage, and without discovering themselves, or their commission, took care to gain information of Cortes's affairs, and determined to find out at Court, either his father Martin Cortes, or the two former agents, in order to know how to proceed; but hearing on the road they were retired to Medellin, they hastened thither, and continued incog. till they had an account of the emperor's return to Seville, which happened soon after. Martin Cortes immediately set out for the court, with the four commissioners from his son, where, after some days, they had a private audience of the cardinal regent, and obtained a declaration of council in favour of Cortes against Velasquez. These dispatches, being signed by the emperor, were sent away with two of the envoys of Cortes; and while he was concerting measures how to renew the war, a ship arrived at Vera Cruz, with arms and ammunition on account of private merchants. The next day, the captain and all his men quitted the ship and joined the army, which on a general muster, appeared now to be 540 foot, and forty horse, with nine pieces of cannon. With this addition

of Spanish forces, Cortes marched against the Mexicans, and after several skirmishes defeated them in a general engagement. Upon this victory, he at once attacked three causeways leading to the city, and at the same time carried on the war with their canoes and piragua's upon the lake, most of which were either burnt or sunk. Cortes hereby, having made himself master of the causeways leading to the city, resolved to make a general attack. The Mexicans posted themselves behind the trenches made across the streets, and resolutely stood the first charge of the Spaniards; who could not force them, but with much fatigue and some loss. Their danger was still greater when they passed the ruined buildings, and were obliged to defend themselves against the arrows and darts, which came pouring upon them from the tops of the houses. Cortes therefore, having but barely time enough to return to his quarters before night, began his retreat, first ordering some houses to be set on fire, to prevent their receiving any damage from them in the next attack. When the army marched out of the city, the Mexicans fell upon the rear, which was brought up by the Spaniards, with an incredible number of their most resolute warriors, picked out for this purpose, and took forty of them prisoners  
alive

alive \*, to sacrifice to their idols, and one piece of cannon. In this Action Cortes's horse was killed under him, and he wounded; 1000 Tlascalans were slain, and scarce one Spaniard remained unhurt.

Cortes soon after having received fresh succours from Tlascala, finding himself at the head of an army of 200,000 men, resolved to renew the attack, and not to retire as before; but ordered each Spanish

\* The Mexicans celebrated this victory with great rejoicings, and that night the Spaniards saw, from their quarters, all the temples of the city illuminated; and in the principal temple, dedicated to the God of War, they heard the sound of military instruments in several concerts, not disagreeable. With these pompous preparations they celebrated the sacrifices of those miserable Spaniards; the blood of whose leaping hearts, still warm, was sprinkled upon the idol, while these wretched victims, with their last breath, were calling upon the God of truth. The advantage they gained, joined to their having appeased the God of war, by the sacrifice of so many Spaniards, so far raised the pride of the Mexicans, that the same night, a little before break of day, they advanced by the three causeways to beat up the enemies quarters, with design to complete the destruction of those people; but the Spaniards, being sensible of their approach, were so well prepared to receive them, that they were repulsed; the cannons which were mounted at their lodgment, playing upon the causeway, among those throngs of people, sufficiently chastised their presumption.

corps should endeavour to make their quarters good in that part of the city into which they could penetrate. The general, after this resolution was taken, having made provision necessary for the subsistence of his troops, divided them into three bodies, and entered the city at day break. The first day was spent in fortifying their quarters with the ruined houses after the best manner they could. In less than four days the three leaders came in sight of the great square to which they all directed their course. Alverado arrived first, and found the enemy endeavouring to draw up in order of battle, but he gave them no time, so that on the first onset they retired to the streets. Soon after came up the corps belonging to Olid, but now commanded by Cortes himself, and the confused throng of Mexicans that fled before him into the square, fell in upon the battallion which Alverado had formed in order of battle; where the wretches being attacked on every side, most of them perished; and the like fate attended those that were driven by Sandoval, who soon after arrived. The next morning the Mexicans sent notice to Guatimozin, successor to Montezuma, of the havock that was made; and were given to understand, that whoever had any proposal to offer to the prince of the Spaniards might approach; upon which four Mexicans of distinction appeared, and promised



promised Cortes, in the emperor's name, that he should come and confer with him on the next day; but then brought an excuse. This method lasted for four days successively, while the emperor who never intended any such thing, was preparing to make his escape by the lake. On the 5th day at sunrise, Sandoval observed a vast number of Mexicans embarking on board the canoes. He approached them slowly, when the canoes of the nobility, and those on board which, were all the principal persons of the city began to move, having unanimously resolved to make their last efforts. Accordingly they put this design in execution, attacking the Spanish Brigantines with vigour. But Sandoval at the same time observing six or seven Piragua's a-head, with the utmost force of oars, making the best of their way; he ordered captain Garcias de Holguin to chase and take them. The captain soon got up with the foremost, when they all ceased rowing; and several of them which were in that Piragua, called out to the Brigantine not to fire, saying his Mexican majesty was on board that vessel. Holguin hearing this came along-side, and with some Spaniards immediately leaped into the Piragua to secure his prize. Guatimozin instantly advanced, saying to the captain, "I am your prisoner, and will go where you think fit to conduct me: all my desire is that some ho-

nour may be paid to my consort, and to her women." When this news was brought to Cortes, he ordered two companies to the landing place to guard the royal prisoners \*.

The provinces of the Mexican empire that were nearest the capital, instantly submitted to the conqueror. He soon after reduced the whole country, and divided it, and all the Indian inhabitants among his officers and foldiers, who treated them as slaves; and this was his practice in every province, whether the people voluntarily submitted, or were compelled by force. But

\* *Guatimozin the emperor was about 24 years of age, so brave, that he had by his warlike exploits, risen to those honours which qualified the nobles to ascend the throne. His person was well proportioned, tall, and robust; his complexion fair, so that among those of his own nation he looked like one of a different climate. The empress, who was much of the same age, by the gracefulness of her carriage attracted all eyes; but her beauty was rather majestic than delicate. She was niece, or as some say, daughter of Montezuma, which, when Cortes understood, he professed himself obliged to pay to her the highest veneration; in regard to the memory of that monarch. This great event happen'd August 13, 1521, and from thence may be truly dated the dominion of the Spaniards over New Spain; for the captive emperor immediately sent orders to his subjects to lay down their arms, and submit to him, who had their sovereign in his power, which they did accordingly.*

notwithstanding

notwithstanding this bad behaviour to the natives, such were the representations made to the monarch of Spain in his favour, that he was declared captain general and governor of New Spain. The governors of Hispaniola and Cuba were commanded to reinforce him, and give him all possible assistance. Cortes now finding himself established in his command, set about rebuilding the city of Mexico, which he had burnt and destroyed. He first assigned places for building churches, than laid out the market places, and the ground for other public edifices, always taking care to divide the best part of the premises among the Spaniards, the rest among the natives, for their encouragement to build and people the place again. He assigned one particularly to Montezuma, a son of the late emperor, and another to one of the most popular of the Indian generals; and they soon erected a much finer city than that which had been erased; having now the advantage of tools, carriages and engines. But nothing could be more magnificent than the palace Cortes erected for himself, upon the same spot of ground where Montezuma's palace stood; about which, 'tis said, he used 7000 beams of cedar, some of them 120 feet long, he also provided himself with a numerous train of artillery, consisting of 35 pieces of brass cannon, and 70 of iron, which gave the Indians a  
vast

vast opinion of his power. But that which was his real strength, and did him the most service, both in Europe and Mexico, was the prodigious wealth he had acquired, by the plunder of all the provinces he became master of, and the rich mines of gold and silver he every day discovered, or took from the owners.

It may be observed, however, that all his courage and conduct, could not procure him a safe establishment. He was continually in danger from the intrigues of the Indians, who were desirous of recovering their country. To put an end to these contrivances, he was obliged to hang Guatimozin, and two other Indian princes: nor did he find less uneasiness from the ambition, avarice, and malice of his own countrymen. Christopher Olid, one of his captains, who behaved gallantly against the Mexicans, revolted from him; but was soon taken off by a sudden death. Another laid a scheme to murder him while he was upon his knees at mass: and a priest, whose name was Lean, formed a design to blow him up, by setting fire to a barrel of gunpowder, which, either by chance, or contrivance, was placed under his lodgings. Nor did he want enemies, who took great pains to prejudice the emperor Charles V. against him; insomuch as he thought it necessary to return to Spain in 1528, to justify his conduct. The emperor received him with

with great respect, and gave him the whole vale of Atrisco, with all the towns and villages therein; conferred on him the title of marquis of the vale, and to compleat his favours, procured him a very honourable marriage. The next year he returned to Mexico with his lady, but with a very limited commission, which turned more to the disadvantage of the Spaniards, than the loss of the marquis, who was so much beloved in that part of the world, as to stand in need of no authority to procure him respect.

Sometime afterwards, Mendoca being made viceroy of the kingdom, there happened many private grudges between him and Cortes, the captain-general; but yet they agreed for the finding out a passage from those seas to ours, which is properly called the north west passage. Nevertheless, in the year 1542, some new troubles Cortes met with in respect to his discoveries, wherein the viceroy interfered, induced him to make a second voyage to Spain, where he was received with honour, but obtained little satisfaction. To speak impartially, the emperor had conceived a kind of jealousy; that if Cortes, was rewarded according to his merit, he would be too formidable for a subject. The marquis however was too wise to think, that any mistakes made by his prince could cancel any part of the duty he

he owed him: he therefore attended him in a dangerous expedition against the Algerines, tho' in a very low station, where, being unhorsed in a charge he made against the infidels, he is said to have lost two emeralds of immense value. On his return to Spain, he led a retired life, employing his time in the education of his children, of whom he had many, both legitimate and illegitimate. His Second wife was daughter of Count Aguila, by whom he had a son, who succeeded to his titles, and some of whose descendants are still remaining. Cortes himself died at a village near Seville, December 2, 1554, aged 63, but his corpse, by his own direction, was carried to New-Spain \*.

## C H A P.

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\* *In the history of this great event we have omitted nothing material, that the reader may reflect upon the conduct of Cortes, and be convinced, that this great man was very much superior to many, if not most, of the heroes of antiquity. But notwithstanding his great abilities, and many virtues, he was far from having a character altogether blameless. If this had been the case, it is highly probable he would not have been attacked by the bishop of Chiapa, who went to Spain to complain of him; and if what he says be true, his complaint was not without reason: he charges him with destroying 4,000,000 of people in twelve years. And yet if we should admit the judgment of this prelate in its full extent, we must not only give*

C H A P. VIII.

*The discovery and conquest of Peru and Chili.*

**I**N 1524, three gentlemen of the new city of Panama, named Pizarro, Almagro, Lugues \*, all rich, far in years, and of great reputation, offered to venture on the project of extending the naval power of Spain in the South Seas,, and of enlarging her conquests by land into the empire of Peru, at their own expence, if they might be allowed fair and reasonable terms. Pedrarias, then governor of Panama, came very readily into this proposal, on condition they paid to him one fifth in value of all the gold, silver, and Jewels they should acquire, for the use of the Emperor Charles V. To this they consented, and when all things were ready, Pizarro embarked, his whole number of

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*give up the cause of Cortes, but of all the famous conquerors of every age and country to a partial accuser, which will, perhaps, be thought too great a sacrifice.*

\* *The manner in which these three great men ratified the agreement between themselves was very singular; for they repaired solemnly to high mass, which was celebrated by Lugues, who was a priest, and having broke the wafer in three pieces, took the first himself, and gave the other to his partners, in token that they should pursue this design with the same zeal, as they did that of their salvation.*

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men being no more than 114, officers included. With this force he sailed to port Pinnace, on the south side of the bay of Panama. Here he landed his men, but not being able to penetrate the country, he sent the ship to the isle of Pearls for provisions, and in the mean time Almagro followed, with two other ships, and a recruit of 70 men. The two officers meeting on this unwholesome coast, united their forces, and went up the country, where they met with a parcel of gold of the value of 15,000 crowns. While Pizarro was marching with his soldiers by land, the pilot ran down as far as Cape Passaro under the Equator, and, taking some prisoners, was told of the vast riches of Peru, of which agreeable news he soon informed his captain. In the mean time Pizarro suffered incredible hardships, Almagro being gone to Panama with the gold, and to procure reinforcements; but he finding here a new governor, who hearing of the loss of so many men, was so far from suffering him to raise any more recruits, that he sent a ship to Gallo to bring back all the men that survived; and were willing to return. Hereupon they all left Pizarro, except 15 and a mulatto. In this distress he removed to the island of Gorgona, in order to supply himself with fresh provisions; and here staid till he was joined by Almagro and his pilot with some recruits,



recruits, which they with great difficulty brought off from Panama. With these few hands they sailed along the coast till they had passed the equator. In this passage they took several Indian floats, with cargoes of considerable value, and gained such intelligence, that Pizarro sent Peter de Candia to Tumbez, to know whether the information they had received might be depended upon. On his return to Pizarro, he declared that he had seen their public edifices, erected with wonderful skill, and so immensely rich, that the very walls were covered with gold and silver.

After this Pizarro returned to Panama, and called upon his friends for assistance to proceed on this discovery; but on the opposition made by the new governor, to his levying men to carry on this design, it was agreed that Pizarro should go in person to Spain, to solicit for himself the title of governor, for Almagro that of lieutenant, and for Lugues the first bishop of the country. The emperor Charles V. was then at Toledo; where this adventurer met with a very gracious reception; and on his presenting him with some Peruvians in their proper habits, two or three Peruvian sheep, and some gold and silver vessels of the fashion of the country, he was ordered to proceed in the conquest of Peru, and procured the title of captain general and governor of Peru for

life; Almagro was constituted governor of Tumbez, Lugues, to be bishop thereof, and procurator general of the Peruvians. These commissions and powers were sign'd at Toledo, July 26, 1528, and six dominican friars were ordered to go over as missionaries to assist in the conversion of the Indians. This done, he raised some recruits in Spain and returned to Panama, from whence he embarked in three ships, taking with him 185 soldiers, and 27 horses; with which he arrived soon after at Tumbez, where with some opposition he landed, and erected a fortress on the sea coast, which he called St. Michael. This was the first Spanish colony planted.

At this time two chiefs, called Atahualpa and Huescar, being engaged in war, had both recourse to Pizarro for assistance; and the Peruvians being a very superstitious people, the fables upon which their religion was founded, proved of greater service to the Spanish commander, than all his own forces\*.

Immediately

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\* One Instance of this may suffice, which is so extraordinary in its nature there is no need of adding another. They really believed their Incas or kings descended from the sun; and from their late conquests, were firmly persuaded, that the Spaniards were the children of the sun likewise, in which the following story

Immediately after the settling of the new colony of Tumbez by the Spaniards, the ambassadors of Atahualpa arrived, and told Pizarro the great desire their master had to cultivate a good correspondence with him; presenting him with a pair of gold buskins, very finely wrought; and bracelets of the same metal set with emeralds. The chief of this embassy was of the race of the Incas, and shewed great politeness. Besides these presents, he brought provisions and gifts for the army \*. Hereupon Pizarro divided

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story fully confirmed them. The eldest son of an Inca beheld, in former times, a very strange phantom, very different in aspect and dress from the Peruvians; for whereas they have no beard, and the cloaths they wear come no lower than their knees, this spirit, who called himself *Virachoca*, had a long beard, and his robe reached down to his feet. He likewise led in his hand an animal absolutely unknown to the young prince. This fable, universally spread, and generally received; operated so strongly upon the minds of the people, that they no sooner saw a Spaniard with a long beard, his legs covered, and his horse in his hand, than they cried out: "look, look, there is the Inca *Virachoca*, the son of the sun."

\* It fell out unluckily for these ambassadors, that the Spaniards had no interpreter, but an Indian of *Puna*, who had not sense enough to comprehend the compliment of the Inca; however they resolved to continue their march, meeting every where with a kind reception. When they came to *Caxamalca*, where  
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his cavalry, which consisted of no more than 60 men, into three troops, each troop consisting of 20; who were ordered to be drawn up under the cover of an old wall, that they might not be discovered, and that on their sudden appearance the Indians might be the more surprized. In the mean time Pizarro put himself at the head of the foot, which consisted of no more than 100 men, waiting for the Inca, in order of battle, who advanced with a regular army, divided into four battalions, consisting of 8000 men each. As soon as they drew near, the Inca said, "These people are messengers of the Gods; let us not offend them." The person who advanced to harangue him was father Vincent, with a cross in one hand, and a breviary in the other. The figure of this man surprized the Inca very much; but the interpreter so far murdered his speech, that the priest knew no

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*the Inca resided, they found he was gone to a place not far distant; to which Pizarro sent his brother Ferdinand and Ferdinand Soto, as his ambassadors. The interpreter understanding little of the language, murdered their speeches in such a manner, that Pizarro, on their return, was only informed, they were kindly entertained, and that the Inca's court was splended beyond imagination, which raised the hopes of the Spaniards exceedingly, adding that he would pay Pizarro a visit in his camp the very next day, attended by his guards and the principal nobility.*

more

more of the Inca's meaning, than the Inca did of his ; so that the whole interview was a scene of confusion, which ended much worse than it began ; for the Spaniards seeing an idol upon a tower, excessively adorned with silver, gold, and precious stones, fell to pillaging it as fast as they could, in which the Indians were about to oppose them ; but the Inca ordered them not to resist. Father Vincent hearing the noise, and hastening to appease the Spaniards, threw aside his cross, and dropped the breviary, which greatly increased the confusion ; the Spaniards apprehended the Indian chief had insulted the cross ; and by this means made the gospel of peace a pretence of perpetrating the most inhuman cruelties \*.

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\* *They slaughtered thousands of these poor creatures, who did not move a hand in their own defence. It is uncertain whether Pizarro engaged himself at the beginning ; but when this confusion rose to a height, he advanced with his horse, and caused the Inca to be seized, and conveyed him to his own quarters, directing the spoils of the field to be brought to him, which were very great, consisting of large gold and silver vessels, utensils, fine garments, jewels, and ornaments, belonging to the royal family. And Pizarro directed thanksgiving to God to be given that very day, which was the third of May, 1533, on the very ground which was covered with the dead.*

Soon after Almagro came from Panama with 150 recruits, to reinforce Pizarro; but being obliged by contrary winds to land at Cape Francisco, he was there joined by a strong party of Spaniards, who were going on the same errand, making together 300 men; with all these excepting 30, he arrived at the fort of St. Michael, where he was informed that Pizarro had made the Inca prisoner, and possessed himself of a vast treasure. Hereupon Almagro consulted with his officers, whether they should join him or go upon some further discoveries independent of him, if he refused to let them

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*dead bodies of the miserable Indians, they had thus murdered and plundered. Next day he sent out a detachment of his forces to plunder the Inca's camp, where he met with another booty, tho', it is said, the Peruvian generals had carried off 3000 loads of gold and silver, before the Spaniards arrived; therefore, in order to induce the Indians not to carry off or conceal any more of their treasures, Pizarro caused it to be proclaimed, that their Inca was alive, and that they were at liberty to come and pay him their usual services: he also caused his women to be brought to him; but still kept him in fetters, which made him apprehend they would take away his life in the end, unless he could find some means to obtain his liberty; and having observed the insatiable thirst of the Spaniards after gold and silver, he promised them as much as a great room in the castle of Caxamalca would hold for his freedom.*

share

share the treasure he had got ; of which Almagro's secretary informed Pizarro, adding that his master was plotting against him. Pizarro, in the mean time, being sensible that he could not keep so large an empire as Peru in subjection, with the few troops that were with him ; or believing that Almagro might join a party of Indians, take his booty from him, and set up for himself, sent very obliging messages to him, inviting him to join forces, at the same time acquainting him with the arts that were used to set them at variance, and thereby ruin the enterprize, which was not to be carried on but by their united forces. He particularly informed Almagro of the treachery of his secretary, who was hereupon ordered to be hanged up immediately ; and then began his march towards Caxamalca.

The coming of Almagro made a great noise, and the Inca receiving advice, that another body of Spaniards was arrived on the coast, began to reflect that Pizarro would now be no longer under a necessity of dealing fair with him ; being enabled, by this reinforcement, to maintain his conquests. He therefore hastened the bringing in the treasure he had offered for his ransom, that he might gain his liberty, before Pizarro had joined Almagro ; but another accident happened about the same time, which he apprehended might be still more fatal to him

him \*. Pizarro's messengers continued their journey to Cuzco, and in their way conferred with Huescar, of which the usurper being informed, immediately thought of dispatching him, but reflecting, if he should order his brother to be put to death, the Spaniards might make this a pretence for taking away his own life, he was obliged to act with caution.

He resolved, in the first place, to sound how Pizarro stood affected towards Huescar, which he did by feigning he had intelligence, that the officers who had his brother in

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\* *The Inca Atahualpa had some time before made his brother Huescar prisoner, and the three Spanish officers that were sent with his people to Cuzco on this message, happening to pass thro' the place where the prince was confined, went to see him, and acquainted him with what Atahualpa had offered for his ransom; that prince informed them, how unjustly his brother had deposed him, who had no right to the empire, or the treasure he had promised; and as he understood one principal design of the Spaniards was to relieve the distressed, he did not doubt but they would release him, and restore him to his throne, which he should not only gratefully acknowledge, but would furnish them with much more treasure than the usurper possibly could; for his loyal subjects had buried most of the gold and silver plate, after the battle in which he was made prisoner, to conceal it from the rebels who had joined his brother, and they were ready to produce, and pay it for his ransom, if required.*

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custody, had put him to death without his knowledge, for which the usurper expressed a very great concern. But finding Pizarro was not moved with the relation, and that he only said, this was the fortune of war, Atahualpa dispatched an express for putting Huescar to death, and his orders were immediately executed. When the murderers came into his presence, and Huescar understood their business, he expressed himself in these Words, My reign is indeed but short : but the person by whose orders I am put to death, who was born, and ought to have continued my subject, will not have long to enjoy that power, which he endeavours to purchase at the expence of the blood of his brother and his lawful prince.

The Peruvians, however, made great lamentations for him as soon as his death was known, crying to Heaven for vengeance on his murderers ; some also desired the Spaniards to revenge it on the usurper Atahualpa. In the mean time the three officers, that were sent to Cuzco, being arrived there, were ador'd by that people as the true decendants of the sun ; but were afflicted to find so vicious a race of men as the Spaniards, who trampled upon every thing that was sacred ; whose avarice seemed to exceed all bounds, shou'd become masters of their country ; and from that time meditated how they might throw off that

that intolerable yoke which they found the Spaniards were about to impose upon them. However they durst not disobey the commands of their Inca Atahualpa; but, having amassed a considerable quantity of treasure, they loaded it on the backs of their tamenes or porters, and conveyed it to Caxamalca, with a view of asserting their liberties to greater advantage, when they should have procured the release of their Inca; but the most valuable treasure consisting of gold, silver, and emeralds, being lodged in the temple of Pacha Camac, he dispatched his brothers thither, with the Peruvian officers whom Atahualpa deputed, to fetch it to Caxamalca.

The marshal Almagro being advanced by this time into the neighbourhood of that place, Pizarro, the general, went out to meet him, and congratulated his arrival, received him with all the marks of affection imaginable, and offered him such a share in the spoils, as made him easy; but his soldiers, who expected to divide the booty with those that served under Pizarro, were told, they were intitled to no part of it, as not having been present in the action, when the Inca Atahualpa was made prisoner, which had like to have created a mutiny; but they were pretty well appeased when Pizarro agreed to distribute an hundred thousand ducats amongst them. The rest of the plunder, after the

the emperor's fifth was deducted, was divided by Pizarro among his officers and soldiers, in such a proportion as he saw fit; in which he pretended to have a great regard to the merit of the respective adventurers. After he had reserved the Inca's golden chair to himself, he distributed as much gold and silver among the soldiers, as amounted to 1,500,000 crowns and upwards, which, considering the value of gold and silver at that time, was more than fifteen millions at this day. The meanest of Pizarro's soldiers had two thousand pounds for his share, and some of them of the foot twice that sum; and yet it is agreed, that the whole money then divided did not exceed a fifth part of Atahualpa's ransom. After this division was made, about sixty of the private men insisted upon their discharge, that they might go home and live in peace upon what they had got. Almagro opposed this vehemently, alledging, that it would greatly weaken their small army; and most of the council were of his opinion. Francis Pizarro, who had more sense than Almagro and all the council put together, agreed to the demand, and gave this wise reason for it: that when once it appeared that private men could get so much in so little a time, there was no doubt to be made, if one man went away, they should have ten come in his place. As Ferdinand Pizarro was the person  
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made choice of to go over to Spain with these men, and this vast mass of treasure, he went to take his leave of Atahualpa, with whom he was in much greater esteem than any of the Spanish officers. The emperor receiv'd the news with great sorrow, and could not help speaking his sentiments freely. My lord, said he, you are going home, which is certainly matter of joy to you, tho' it is matter of grief to me ; for I apprehend, that before you return, that fellow with one eye, meaning Almagro, and that other fellow with the great belly, which was the king's treasurer, will send me to my long home. He made a very right judgment in this, for when the Spaniards, who had been sent for the rest of Atahualpa's ransom, made a report of the prodigious quantities of gold they had seen, Almagro gave it as his opinion, that they should wait no longer, but get rid of the Inca, and make as much haste as possible to get possession of all the gold in Peru. Atahualpa, however cruel to his own family, appeared to be a prince of great wisdom, and one who laboured to inform himself with respect to the manners, customs, superior and inferior qualities of the Spaniards, that he might be the better able to deal with them, if upon the payment of the sum proposed for his ransom, they should restore him to his liberty. That which most of all perplexed his enquiries was,

was, their art of writing and reading, whether it was a natural endowment, or whether it was acquired by application. In order to satisfy himself, he asked one of the Spanish soldiers, whether he could express the name of God upon his thumb-nail. The man said he could, and did accordingly; after this the Inca went about to several of the captains and soldiers, and shewed them his thumb nail, asked them, if they knew what the mark signified, and from their answers, he began to entertain an opinion, that reading and writing were natural to this nation; but unfortunately he asked the same question of the general, who, not being able to read it, was put greatly to the blush, which not only changed Atahualpa's opinion with respect to reading and writing, which he now saw were the fruits of education; but likewise gave him a very mean opinion of the general.

After a mock shew of justice, they condemned the Inca to suffer death, which at first they resolved should be by burning\*.

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\* They procured the approbation of father Vincent, who prostituted his character as an ecclesiastic in this bloody affair; and which was much worse, prostituted, as far as in him lay, the Christian faith, and the credit of the gospel. Yet this cruel and blood-thirsty friar, after being so great an instrument in the sufferings, attempted the

As soon as Atahualpa was murdered, the Indians began to act offensively against the Spaniards, which they had never done before. Rumnavi, one of Atahualpa's generals, who retired from the fatal slaughter at Caxamalca, with the rear guard of his army, made himself master of Quito. Quisquis, another of these generals, acted much the same part; but having a better army under his command, secured a greater part of the country, and yet shewed himself far from being valiant, by flying before a handful of Spaniards, who were in pursuit of him; and gave a further proof of his cruelty, by murdering a few Spaniards, who by their temerity in pushing on too far, had fallen into his hands.

It is impossible to conceive a country in a worse condition than Peru was now in: Pizarro however did not carry his resentment so far, but that, after he had taken and killed the Inca, he thought fit to treat his corps with the respect due to a sovereign prince; he celebrated his funeral with great solemnity, and went into

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*the conversion of Atahualpa; and the arguments he used to induce him to be baptized were worthy of such a preacher. He told him, that if he would consent to die a Christian, he should not be burnt, but strangled only; which had the desired effect, and he was accordingly baptized in the evening, and strangled the next morning.*

mourning

mourning for him; but soon discovered how detestable this murder rendered him among the natives. The two factions immediately united against him, under Manco Capac, the brother and heir of Huescar, whom they proclaimed emperor of Cuzco. Whereupon Pizarro proclaimed Toparpa, a son of Atahualpa emperor; caused him to wear the imperial coronet, and to be treated with the honours his father had been, issuing such orders in his name, as might best serve the interest of the Spaniards; but this Inca died soon after, and so Pizarro, conjecturing that nothing could tend to establish the Spanish dominion in Peru, more than his possessing himself of the capital city of Cuzco, began his march thither with all his forces, consisting of near four hundred men.

In the mean time, Atauchi, brother to the late emperor Atahualpa, having collected a great quantity of treasure, to purchase his brother's ransom, brought it to Caxamalca; but finding Atahualpa murdered, and the Spaniards marched from thence, determined to be reveng'd on them, and joining his forces with some Peruvian generals, surprized the Spaniards upon their march to Cuzco, killed some of them, and made several prisoners, amongst the rest was Sancho de Cuellar, who had drawn up the process against the late Inca Atahualpa,

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and attended his execution. The general Pizarro, continuing his march towards Cuzco, was again attacked by several parties of the Indians; but finding themselves unable to resist the fire-arms and horses of the Christians, they fled, after a faint resistance. It being the custom in this country to bury with their great men the best part of the riches of which they died possessed; and their conquerors making no difficulty of rifling sepulchres, as well as temples; found not only as much wealth in the dwellings of the dead, but rather more, than in the habitations of the living; and which they computed to be the full value of Atahualpa's ransom.

When the general, Francis Pizarro, had thus got into his hands the capital of Peru, from whence the Inca Manco Capac, and the greatest part of the inhabitants were fled, he thought fit to invite them to return to their dwellings. The Indians, accepting Pizarro's invitation, returned to their houses in Cuzco, and even the Inca made some overtures to him, intimating, that he should be content to embrace the Christian religion, and hold his dominions of the emperor of the Romans, provided that neither he, nor his subjects should be molested for the future in their persons or estates; and being encouraged by Pizarro to believe he should have the terms he demanded, the Inca came in person to Cuzco, and had an interview with



with the Spanish general, who caused him to be crowned and invested in the empire, by binding the royal wreath or coronet about his head, and proclaiming him Inca, in the same manner his predecessors used to be inaugurated into that dignity; and then assured him he would strictly observe the capitulation. But while Pizarro and his officers were thus employed in the reduction of the several provinces of the empire, they were suddenly interrupted by an unexpected invasion from their countrymen in Mexico, who, on report of the vast wealth obtained by these adventurers, resolved to come in for a part. The famous Peter de Alverado was the person who formed this project; and the condition he was in at that time, gave him a fair opportunity of putting it in execution: He was possessed of the province of Guatimala, where he fitted out several ships, and to increase his force, he seized upon two vessels more, that were fitting out in the port of Nicaragua, for the service of Pizarro; on board these ships he embarked five hundred horse and foot, as good troops as any in America. He found himself obliged to traverse a rough mountainous country, near the equator, and lost no less than sixty of his men by the severity of the cold weather. He arrived in the neighbourhood of the Spanish colony of St. Michael, where he refreshed his forces, and disposed every  
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thing for continuing his progress; but, in the mean time, Pizarro had sent Almagro to reinforce Belalcazar, and they having together a considerable body of troops, were now resolved to act against Alverado. The two Spanish armies advanced till they came in sight of each other, in the valley of Riobamba, where it was expected a battle would have ensued; but Alverado, foreseeing the consequences that must attend an action, willingly listened to a negotiation, which soon came to an agreement, in which they shewed themselves to be both very able persons; for they agreed, that two treaties should be drawn, one of which was to be made public, whereby it was stipulated, that both parties should be at liberty to prosecute the war against the Indians, and the discovery of distant countries, with like freedom; but by the secret treaty Alverado was to return to his own government, and to accept the sum of one hundred thousand pesos in gold, in consideration of the expences he had been at in fitting out his fleet and forces, he promising never to return to Peru so long as Pizarro or Almagro lived. These treaties thus settled, they marched towards Cuzco, in order to confirm them with Pizarro, and to receive the money from him; but when Pizarro was informed of this, he took a resolution to prevent Alverado's visit, by going to meet him,

him, because he was doubtful whether the sight of Cuzco might not revive the ambition of his competitor, of which he very well knew the value, and highly approved it. Quisquis, the Indian commander, remained all this time at the head of a great body of forces, yet declared he was ready to lay down his arms, as soon as he knew of the ratification of the treaty. While he waited for this, Alverado and Almagro came into his neighbourhood with their forces, and knowing nothing of this negotiation, prepared to attack him, the Indian general retired for some time, in hopes they would receive contrary orders, but perceiving they continued to advance, he resolved to venture upon a battle, in which he was defeated.

The rich booty obtained by this victory might have renewed the disputes amongst the Spanish generals, if Pizarro had not lived to perform all that Almagro had promised immediately; and, accordingly, leaving Cuzco to the care of the Inca, and his brothers, he set out with a party of horse, and a detachment of Indians, and arrived at the valley of Pachia Camac, where he met with Alverado and Almagro; and to ingratiate himself with the former, gave him the command of all the troops, directing all the officers to obey his orders, and acknowledge no other general while they continued in Peru, and was so much better than his word;

word, that he paid Alverado twenty thousand pesos more than he had stipulated for his journey, besides a great number of turquoisets, emeralds and vessels of gold; whereupon he returned to Mexico, entirely satisfied, especially as he saw all the gentlemen that accompanied him well provided for. This matter being thus settled, Pizarro, leaving the care of the frontiers to Almagro, employed himself in building towns and settling colonies on the sea coasts, particularly Lima\*. Then marching forward founded another fair city, which, from the place of his birth he called Truxillo, assigning his Spaniards lands and people according to their several conditions; while Pizarro remained at his new city of Truxillo, advice came from Spain, that his brother Ferdinand had, in a great measure, succeeded in his negotiation at that court; for Pizarro had petitioned his imperial majesty to extend his government 200 leagues farther southward, to grant him a considerable province in Peru, and the title of marquis; the emperor conferred on him the title of marquis of that province, and enlarged his government 200 leagues to the southward. As to Almagro, he had the title of marshal of Peru,

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\* For a particular description hereof, see Betagh's voyage, vol. I.

Peru, and a government of 200 leagues extent, confirmed to him : but he at this time residing at Cusco, and observing that this city was not within the limits assigned to Don Pizarro, took upon him the title of governor of Cusco, and the district thereto belonging. John, and Gonzalo Pizarro, brothers to the marquis, opposed this usurpation, as they called it ; and hereupon commenced a war with Almagro, in which many were killed on both sides. The marquis receiving advice of this quarrel, caused himself to be carried in a hammock on the shoulders of Indians, directly to Cusco, and there entered into a treaty with Almagro, for adjusting all differences.

The conditions of this treaty were, that Don Almagro should take upon him the government of a country which lay to the southward of the district of Cusco, extending to the country of Chili, which, as Pizarro suggested, was richer in gold and silver, than any that had been yet discovered ; there adding, that he should march with their united forces to take possession of it.

Almagro resolved to carry this project into execution, which he had concerted with Pizarro for penetrating into Chili, and accordingly demanded the assistance of the Inca Manco, who offered to do for him all that was in his power, and appointed his brother Paullu to accompany him ; adding  
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under their joint command 15,000 men. With this body of men Almagro began his march, and proceeded as far as the province of Charcas, which being a barren country \*, Almagro thought it not worth his keeping: but being here informed that there were two passages into Chili, one long and tedious, the other much shorter, but exposed to still greater inconveniencies, Almagro chose the latter, notwithstanding all that the Indians could say to dissuade him from it. In this passage they found the cold so excessive, that it cost the lives of 10,000 Indians, and 150 Spaniards. At length they arrived in the plains of Chili, where such of the inhabitants as had formerly obeyed the Incas, submitted to the Spaniards out of respect to Paullu, and the Indian high-priest who accompanied him: but it was not till long after that Chili was reduced under the Spanish yoke: and while Almagro was thus employed, all things fell again into confusion at Peru. The Inca Manca being a little impatient under the ill usage he had received, Francis Pizarro thought it proper

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\* But this country has since proved the most valuable of the Spanish acquisitions, for therein lies the famous mountain of Potosi, from whence more silver has been brought into Europe, than from all the other places in which mines of that rich metal had been before discovered.

to shut him up in prison ; which was so far from frightening him into a submission, that it induced him to meditate revenge : but as it was impossible for him to put his design in execution during his confinement, he contrived a method to recover his liberty, which was singular enough. He applied to Ferdinand Pizarro, who was now returned from Spain, and well affected to the Indians, for leave to go to a solemn feast \*, promising to bring him, at his return, his father's statue, which was of massy gold.

The Inca was no sooner released, than the affairs of that country grew daily worse and worse; and he still continued to besiege Cuzco with an army of two hundred thousand men : The Spaniards were but seventy, yet having some horse, and a good train of artillery, they vigorously defended the place,

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\* *This feast was in reality an assembly of the states of Peru, in which it was consulted how the strength of the whole empire might be soonest raised, and most effectually employed. The question was soon resolved. Each of the Indian chiefs undertook to raise their troops in an instant, so that the Inca was able to take the field at once, at the head of three considerable armies. With the first he besieged the city of Cusco : the second marched against Francis Pizarro, who lay in the city of Lima, and with the third he intended to act against Almagro, of which the high priest having information, made his escape.*

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and made several sallies with success, in one of which John Pizarro lost his life; as for the general, he sent for four detachments from Lima, of near three hundred horse, under the command of four experienced generals, who were so unlucky as to lose themselves and their respective parties under their orders. This weakened the governor of Lima to such a degree, that he was obliged to call in all his garrisons, and even then had been too weak, if he had not declared all the Indian natives and slaves free, who would assist the Spaniards against their masters; which had a very good effect, as it put him in a condition to raise both the sieges of Cuzco and Lima; and this was the first civil war wherein the natives of Peru served against each other. It was followed by another between the Spaniards, who one would have thought should have chose any other time, rather than this, to have quarrelled amongst themselves. But Almagro, finding himself at the head of so powerful a body of troops, resolved to renew his old claim to Cuzco, and, in case he could make himself master of that city, determined to make it the seat of his government. The Inca Manca, about this time, took a surprising step, for he resolved to disband his army, and return to the mountains, though all his chief officers endeavoured to persuade him against it.

Almagro



Almagro arriving at Cuzco, and finding the Indian army drawn off, sent a summons to Don Ferdinand Pizarro, the Spanish governor, to deliver up that city to him, who answered, he held it by commission from the marquis, and should not deliver it up without his orders: but part of the garrison being friends to Almagro, let his forces into the city at midnight, who made the marquis's two brothers prisoners. This gave the marquis great uneasiness, who began to recruit his forces at Lima, and sent commissioners to amuse Almagro with a treaty, promising to comply with all his demands, on condition he would set his two brothers at liberty; to which he consented. Soon after the marquis sent Ferdinand, at the head of a great army, against Almagro, who retired to Cuzco, but being there defeated, was, in his turn, made prisoner, and confined in the castle; where being privately strangled, his head was cut off on a scaffold erected in the great square of that city.

When Almagro was taken off, Ferdinand Pizarro went over to Spain to justify his conduct; but tho' he corrupted most of the ministry, he had much ado to avoid paying his life for this wicked deed; however, he suffered 23 years imprisonment, which afforded him time for true repentance. The most considerable acquisition made after the death of Almagro, was the conquest

of the Charcas, in which lay the invaluable mines of Potosi before mentioned; whose treasures drew such multitudes of adventurers thither, that the Indians of that province were compelled at length to become slaves to the Spaniards: but the brave people of Chili disputed the ground with them by inches, nor could they make themselves intirely masters of it.

The conquest of Charcas being finished, the marquis founded the town of La Plata, and divided the city and country amongst the conquerors. This division was made in the year 1539. And now the marquis found himself possessed of a territory, eight hundred leagues in length, in which were more rich mines, than in all the world besides, and yet his ambition was not satisfied: for when very old, he employed his brother Gonsalo in the conquest of other nations, and sent one of his captains named Orallana, down the great river of the Amazons, who from thence returned to the Spanish settlements, on the other side of the continent of America, and opened a way to the discovery of countries as valuable as any that had been yet found. As for the marquis Pizarro, he applied himself solely to the securing his authority: In order to which, he thought it necessary to continue those severities which had been used against the party of Almagro; and having reduced all

all the officers, that were attached to him, to live upon the alms of their countrymen, he resolved to deprive them even of this poor subsistence; by publishing an edict, forbidding any to relieve them, which made them grow wild and desperate; and seeing no end to their miseries, but by dispatching themselves, or the marquis, they resolved upon the last, and attempted it, in the manner, as below \*.

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\* *The bravest of the Almagrians, singly, or two or three at a time, went privately to Lima, where they did not want friends, who concealed them in their houses, till their number amounted to three hundred men, all hardy veterans, with several experienced officers amongst them; who resolved to attack the marquis as he went to church on Midsummer-day, 1548. But he having some intelligence of their design, did not stir out of his palace that day. The malecontents, finding their plot was discovered, and that they were in danger of being sacrificed to the fury of the marquis, if they did not prevent it by some bold attempt, twelve of them met at the house of young Almagro the Sunday following, and with their swords drawn, marched to the marquis's palace, crying out, "Long live the king; but let the tyrant die." They found the gates of the palace and all the doors open. The first notice, the marquis had of them was by one of his pages; whereupon, he ordered some doors to be shut, thinking to defend himself till assistance came in; but Francis Chaves, who was at that time with the marquis, believing it only a riot, which would be*

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*easily*

Thus fell Francis Pizarro, in the capital city of Lima, which he founded eleven years before. His fate was like that of his unfortunate associate Almagro. He, like him, was a victim to ambition, and like him went to the grave in obscurity, after a life of splendor.

As soon as it was publickly known, that the marquis Pizarro was dead, Lima, Cuzco, and most of the principal towns, declared for Almagro. Some places however refused to acknowledge his authority, and assembling a good body of troops, took possession of Cuzco again, which they gave out they would hold for the emperor, and declared war against Almagro; being en-

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*easily suppressed by his presence, neglected to fasten the door, and meeting the conspirators, on the great staircase, they gave him several mortal wounds; and rushing forwards, they broke the door of the drawing-room, whither the marquis was retired; killed him, his brother, and two pages. This done, the conspirators went into the market place, proclaimed the tyrant was dead. and that young Almagro should be governor of Peru. They afterwards secured the guards, with all the horses and arms in the city; and ordered the inhabitants not to stir out of their houses; they then plundered the palace of the marquis, that of his brother, and of his secretary; wherein they found the value of a million of crowns in gold and silver; but left all the furniture standing; for the use of young Almagro, whom they carried thither.*

couraged

couraged thereto by Pedro Holguin. Alverado assembled another body of troops, between Lima and Quito, and declared also for the emperor. As these two generals were preparing to unite their forces, Almagro marched out of Lima, at the head of 600 horse and foot, with intent to give battle to Holguin, before he was joined with Alverado. In the mean time the emperor sent a new governor to Lima, who was a gentleman by birth, by profession a lawyer; and, what was in him very singular, had very strict notions of justice. He came without money or forces, but by the accident just mentioned, found two armies ready to receive him, who carried him to Lima, and proclaimed him governor of Peru, where, in a few weeks, he was obeyed with that submission no tyrant ever executed; purely because the people saw he meant nothing but their good. He marched against Almagro with a powerful army, upon which that young gentleman sent two deputies to treat of a peace, and proposed various things in his name. The governor would never talk upon this subject; but said, he had all the authority the emperor could give, that he had done hurt to nobody; that such as obeyed him, were the emperor's good subjects, that such as did otherwise were rebels, who in time would find a judge, that would not depart from the letter of

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the law ; for tho' as a man he was compassionate ; yet as an officer of justice, he knew no pity. Both parties prepared for battle, and drew up their troops in the vale of Chupas ; the governor's forces, consisting of 700 Spaniards, besides Indians, and Almagro's of 500 Spaniards. A bloody battle ensued ; which being fought with great obstinacy from noon till two hours within dark, Almagro retired to Cuzco, for his security ; where those very people, in whose hands he had put the government, hearing of his defeat, delivered him up to Castro, to save their own lives ; and the young general, being but 20 years of Age, was tried, condemned, and executed.

But the new governor not thinking his head a sufficient atonement for this rebellion, caused all his principal officers and counsellors to be put to death, without mercy.

The peace of the province being restor'd by this strict distribution of justice, the governor disbanded his army, laid aside severity, and began to cultivate the arts of peace. He caused the old colonies to be better settled, planted new ones ; took care to have the old mines improved, and caused the new ones, which were discovered, to be wrought for the benefit of his master : he erected colleges and schools in all the great towns, obliging the clergy to labour in  
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converting the Indians ; and in the space of one year made such alterations, as could not have been expected in fifty. He would have done more, had not the government been altered and a viceroy been appointed, on whose arrival, Castro, a much wiser man than himself, was imprisoned, and in the mean time Gonsalo Pizarro drew together troops, and disposed all things for a rebellion. Hereupon he was made governor of Peru, and pretending to have the king of Spain's commission, was received with all demonstrations of respect into Lima. The viceroy returned into the province of Quito, and tho' his forces were fewer than the rebels, his loyalty and intrepidity, which are natural to the Spaniards, enabled him to make a long dispute.

At length a decisive battle was fought between him and Pizarro, wherein the former was taken prisoner, and had his head struck off ; while the latter busied himself in nothing but amassing wealth.

In the mean time the emperor, fearing the loss of so considerable a territory as that of Peru, appointed Peter Gasca viceroy, and gave him an ample commission ; but he had neither men nor money, that court, trusting surely indeed, though not very prudently, to his great capacity.

Nor was he afraid to face the victorious rebels, tho' in a manner naked ; and all he required

required for settling the province in peace, was, that when this was performed, he might be at liberty to return into Spain. Gasca arrived at Nombre de Dios, saying, he did not come to make war, but peace; accordingly sent the emperor's letters; and wrote himself to Pizarro; telling him, he was come to pardon all offences, and to draw him to obedience; but if he refused this grace, he should declare war against him.

Carvajal, the chief incendiary, diverted Pizarro from all good intentions, and fitted out a formidable fleet, with intention to attack Gasca, who was then at Panama. But the viceroy dealt so artfully with the admiral, that he brought him to submit himself and his fleet, and become a true servant to the emperor. This was the ruin of Pizarro; for now Gasca prepared again for war, and furnished himself for his journey to Peru; sending before a free pardon for all the common sort, so that the towns of Lima, Cuzco, and the rest, immediately took part with the emperor.

When their armies came in view of one another, Gasca deferred giving battle for some time, in hopes that most of Pizarro's men would desert him; but they did not; and he, being forced by cold and hunger, engaged in a general and bloody action, in which, Pizarro surrendered himself to Vincentia, serjeant major, and was carried to Gasca,



Gasca, who caused him to be put to death. This proved a fortunate affair for Gasca, and got him great honour; after which he embarked for Spain in 1550, with much wealth for others, and reputation to himself, his going, coming, and staying, being little more than four years. For this service the emperor, upon his return, gave him the rich bishoprick of Placentia. Here we shall end our discovery and conquest of Peru, which has been treated in such a manner, as the reader cannot but have a clear idea of the political maxims, by which the Spanish court proceeded, and of the great men, by whom these conquests were atchieved, as also of the commotions which were afterwards occasioned, by their excessive ambition.

It is a received opinion, that his Catholic majesty possesses larger dominions than any prince in the world, and without doubt it is well founded; for with regard to America, the whole coast from 37 deg. north latitude to 43 deg. south is one side intirely theirs; and on the other, there are only the Portuguese colonies in Brasil, with a few inconsiderable French and Dutch settlements, but what belongs to them and the natives. In a word, the Spaniards command in the South Seas from Cape St. Sebastian to the Streights of Magellan, at least six or seven thousand miles. They likewise possess the  
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largest and most valuable islands, namely, Cuba, part of Hispaniola, and Porto Rico.

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## C H A P. IX.

*The discoveries and settlements of the English in America, interspersed with curious remarks on the progress of our trade and naval power.*

**I**N the year 1495, John Cabot, citizen of Venice, who had been long settled at Bristol, applied to king Henry VII. for a patent to make discoveries to the east, west, and north; thinking he could do as great things, as had been done by Columbus. The patent was granted and enrolled, whereby the said John Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancias, had full power to sail with five ships, of what burden and strength they thought proper, upon their project; with this proviso, that they should return to Bristol, and pay the king the fifth part of the neat profits of their voyage. For this consideration, the said John and his three sons were to have the exclusive right to the countries discovered; to which no other English subjects were to trade, without their licence. But, the year before this patent was granted, John Cabot, and

and his son Sebastian, had sailed from Bristol, and actually seen the continent of Newfoundland, to which the father gave the name of Prima Vista, or first seen. The next voyage for discovery was made by Sebastian Cabot, who was not only the first who attempted a north-west passage, but was likewise the first discoverer of this quarter of the globe, which Columbus did not see till a year after; Sebastian also first discovered Florida, which country was not so named till 1512, when it was visited by John De Leon, who took possession of it for the king of Spain\*.

When Sebastian Cabot returned to England he was employed by king Henry VIII. in conjunction with Sir Thomas Pert, vice-admiral, who built a fine house near Black Wall, called Poplar, the name of which still remains, tho' the house is long decayed. They sailed to the coast of Brasil, and afterwards visited the Spanish islands of St. Domingo, and St. John de Porto Rico, at which last place they traded, paying for what they had with vessels made of pewter. These early at-

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\* It may not be amiss here to observe, that Sebastian Cabot clearly affirms, his voyage was made to discover a north-west passage; which notion of his gave light to Ferdinand Magellan, and induced him confidently to affirm, that such a passage might be found by the south, and which he happily effected twenty-two years after.

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tempts to discover new countries, and extend our commerce, were attended with great difficulties. Our shipping was then but mean, notwithstanding Henry the seventh had spent 14000 pounds in building one ship; and his son Henry VIII. added several others to the navy, purely on account of finding a north-west passage; that he might have a way of his own to the East Indies, and not be obliged to follow that of the Spaniards and Portuguese \*.

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\* *This inclination of the king produced a spirit in the people, of settling these northern parts, let the danger they were to overcome, be ever so apparent. Accordingly, in the 28th year of his reign, one Mr. Hoare, merchant of London, a person of great fortune and courage, and well versed in the mathematicks, determined to attempt a settlement on Newfoundland, and to go thither himself. In a short time after abundance of young gentlemen of good families, offered to share both the expence and danger of the undertaking. Among these was Mr. Wickes, a west country gentleman, who was possessed of 500 marks a year; Mr. Tuck, a Kentish gentleman; Mr. Tuckfield; the son of Sir William Butts, the king's first Physician; Mr. Hardy, Mr. Biron, Mr. Corter, Mr. Rastall, and several others, went with Mr. Hoare, in the largest of his two ships, called the Trinity, of 140 Tons. In the lesser ship went Mr. Armigall Wade, Mr. Oliver Dawbney, of London, merchant; and with thirty other persons of character in both vessels. They fell down to Gravesend about the end of April,*

1536,

The same year therefore the king was pleased to grant to Sebastian Cabot the office of grand pilot of England, with a pension of 166l. 13s. 1d. per annum, to be paid quarterly at the Exchequer; which shews, that the ministry was at that time inclined to do what lay in their power, to promote navigation and commerce. Mr. Sebastian Cabot, (who first started the notion of a passage to the South Seas by the

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1536, where both ships companies, upon a muster, amounted to 120. In two months after they arrived at Cape Breton, from whence they sailed to the Penguin island, lying in 50 deg. 40 min. north latitude: they afterwards went ashore on the east side of Newfoundland, and accidentally saw a boat full of savages, who inhabited the country, whom they pursued by sea and land; but could not overtake them; and being in great distress for provisions, they actually eat one another: some killed their companions privately in the woods, hid them, and then roasted their flesh secretly; but when this horrid practice came to the knowledge of their captain; he, in a most pathetick speech, prevailed upon them to live upon grass, and herbs, rather than by these detestable means. Soon after they fell in with a French ship, well armed, and victualled, and by watching a fair opportunity, possessed themselves of her, and leaving them their own, sailed in it to England. When they returned to London, Sir William Butts and his wife could not know their son, but by a peculiar mark upon his knee, he being so much altered by the hardships they all endured.

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north west) was at that time master of the great company called merchant adventurers, which gave him an opportunity of pushing that point which he had most at heart: but the finding a passage to the Indian Ocean by the north east diverted the whole attention of the state, as if nothing could be worth discovering besides a road to the Spice Islands; and in the mean time, the Spaniards subdued a great part of both the continents of America. But tho' neither of these projects were attended with the expected success, yet may they be truly said to countervail, in some measure, even the vast expences these voyages occasioned: as for instance; by our attempts to find a north east passage, we opened a trade to Archangel, and engrossed the valuable commerce of the Russian empire: and even to the north west our discoveries were of great consequence, as they led us to a more distinct knowledge of that part of the world, than any other nations had attained.

As there were several of king Henry's ministers employed by queen Mary, so in the reign of this princess the same measures were pursued; and after the marriage between this queen and king Philip of Spain, we began to grow much better acquainted with that nation, which furnished many Englishmen with opportunities of going to their settlements, and gaining such insight to their  
navigation

navigation and commerce, as proved afterwards of great service to this nation. But notwithstanding this, our trade and naval power suffered greatly by this connection between the two kingdoms; which not only hindered, during that reign, those voyages we had formerly made to America, from being pursued, but also involved us in an unnecessary war with France, by which we not only lost the important fortress of Calais, but suffered deeply in our shipping: yet such branches of our commerce, as did not immediately interfere with that of Spain, were favoured in this reign, and the Russian merchants were incorporated; Sebestain Cabot being appointed their governor for life. Soon after, a Russian ambassador came over, and was treated with great distinction by the king and queen, who obtained extraordinary privileges to such English merchants as traded to any part of that extensive empire. The trade to Guiney was likewise countenanced in this reign, by which means our shipping was increased; and tho' it was evidently against the interest of the nation, that we now entered into a French war; yet, was it our want of success therein, that saved the balance of Europe, which must have been totally lost, if Philip had compassed his design, and ruined the power of France; so that our naval force was employed against itself, of which the queen's

ministers were very sensible; but as she was governed by an odd principle, which was that of making the best wife to one of the worst of husbands, it fell out luckily for the nation, that she was so sensible of the misfortunes, which attended this war, that it broke her heart; and made way for that glorious reign, which revived our languishing commerce, re-established our naval power, and by the happy event of a bloody but necessary war against Spain, secured our liberties, and preserved those of all Europe.

Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the crown by the death of her sister, in November 1558, and from the beginning of her reign, made the naval power of the nation her peculiar care. She provided a safe harbour in the river Medway, for the reception of her then shattered fleet, she took care to have a small squadron at sea as soon as possible, and being sensible, that by a hasty breach with Spain, she might expose her naval force, to be crushed by a superior power, she wisely chose to dissemble her resentment against that crown, till she had provided a sufficient increase of seamen and shipping, to carry into execution those resolutions, which did so much honour to herself, and proved so advantageous to her people \*.

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\* *We rather take notice of this, because it is the only stroke of the queen's policy, which has escaped our historians.*



She continued her care of the navy ; was continually fitting out some little squadrons, upon one pretence or other ; and promoted the trade to Russia, to Persia, and the Indies.

The trade to Guiney was likewise so much her care, that finding the Portuguese gave her subjects much disturbance, she enquires into the causes of them, and took care to remedy them by a treaty with that crown. All which was done while her differences

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*historians. At the beginning of her reign she had many enemies to deal with ; some openly declared against her ; others secretly sought her ruin ; among the former were the French ; at the head of the latter, was king Philip of Spain, the greatest politician that ever sat upon that throne ; who well knew the value of England ; had in some measure possessed it, and was not willing to lose it. His first project for keeping it was by marrying Elizabeth, as he had done her sister ; but being disappointed, he next proposed to conquer it. The queen foreseeing this last design, resolved to provide against it, by obtaining a great naval force : with this view she made an artificial war against France ; and encouraged her subjects indeed to take prizes ; but never thought of hurting them ; insomuch, that when Calais was offered her, she refused it, well knowing that the possession hereof was a mere popular advantage, and would be attended with an expence which could not be well afforded, and therefore made a peace with France, and procured such concessions, as proved a continual check upon them, and were of more use to us than the fortress itself.*

with Spain subsisted; and having now procured a very considerable naval force, she was willing to let the Spaniards see, that she had no reason to be afraid of them. At this time the king of Spain married Anne of Austria, and to give him an instance of her generosity, as well as power; she caused that princess, to be conducted to Spain by the English navy; but this extraordinary mark of civility was far enough from meeting with a proper return. The Spaniards went on in disturbing our trade, which induced her to suffer her subjects to use the best measures they could for redressing themselves. Hereupon Sir Francis Drake made his famous expedition into the West Indies, and ventured to declare war against the king of Spain with two ships, and no more than 73 men. In this voyage he performed wonderful things, took several large ships, gain'd an immense treasure, and got a view of the South Seas. This glorious event encouraged others to follow his example, and hereupon Sir Humphry Gilbert, a native of Devonshire, obtained a patent for settling all those countries, which had been formerly discovered by John and Sebastian Cabot, applying himself to his relations and friends, in order to form a society capable of carrying his design into execution; but this voyage proved unfortunate, and was attended with the loss of one of his best ships,  
in

in which Mr. Miles Morgan, whom he much loved, with several other persons of worth and figure perished. This was a severe blow; which he was the less able to sustain, having already suffered extremely in his fortune, and been obliged to assign part of his patent to other persons, who were to make settlements in the northern parts of America, about the river Canada; but they proving very dilatory, he resolved to go again in person; because his patent was to expire if he did not actually gain possession in the space of six years. With this view he sold his estate, and fitted out a small squadron, in which he shipped about 260 men, with artificers of all sorts. Accordingly, having provided them with all necessaries, they set sail from Causet, near Plymoth, June 11, 1583, and about a month after, they had the first sight of land; but with such foggy weather, that they could not possibly take the sun's height; so they followed their course to the south, till they came to an island called Baccalaos, where they met with one of the ships, which had been separated from them in the fog; but were greatly surprized to see the men in a different dress, from what they had on when they left them. Upon enquiry, they found they had met a Newlander-fishing-bark, which they rifled, and took away the mens apparel. The same day, continuing their course southward,

ward, they came to the harbour of St. John; and being refused entrance, Sir Humphry resolved to make good his passage by force of arms; but having sent before to inform these people, that he had a commission from the queen of England to take possession of these lands; they submitted, and supplied him with provisions.

The next day Sir Humphry and his company were conducted on shore, where he took possession of the harbour of St. John, and 200 leagues every way, for the use of himself, his heirs, and assigns for ever; and then proceeded in his discovery southward; but as he was providing for this enterprize, some of his men fell sick, some died, and some turned pirates; all things being now ready, and plenty of provisions of all sorts being put on board, they sailed from the harbour of St. John, to Cape Race, and from thence about 87 leagues further towards Cape Breton; where meeting with bad weather they lost one of their ships, and being in want of all necessaries, Sir Humphry proposed returning to England; having, as he thought, made discoveries sufficient to procure assistance for a new voyage in the spring. But as they returned in sight of Cape Race, the storms and swelling of the sea increasing, Sir Humphry was pressed to leave the frigate which he was on board; but, his answer was, "We are as  
near

near to Heaven by sea, as by land." Soon after, his lights were extinguished, and he was never heard of more.

After Sir Humphry Gilbert's miscarriage, and loss in this voyage, the great Sir Walter Raleigh, this brother-in-law, procured his patent to be renewed to himself; and resolved immediately to carry it into execution; to which purpose he agreed with two very able sea officers, captain Philip Amadas, and captain Arthur Burlow, who in two small ships sailed for the Canaries, and from thence proceeded to the American islands, crossing the gulph of Mexico; and soon after they discovered the coast of Florida; where they smelled a delightful odour, supposing they were near, tho' they saw no land. In a few days they saw the continent, and sailed 40 leagues along the coast, till they came to a river, where they anchored, went on shore, and took possession, in right of the queen, for the use of the proprietors. This place they afterwards found to be the island of Wokoken on the coast of the country, since called Virginia; and in it they found, deer, rabbits, horses, fowls, vines, cadars, pines, sassafras, cypress, and mastick trees \*. Being

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\* The author of the history of Virginia, says, that they anchored at the inlet of Roenock, at present under the government of North Carolina, where they went to the tops of the hills, which were nearest the shore, and tho'

Being satisfied with what they had seen,  
they

tho' they were not high, discovered the sea on all sides, and found it to be an island of about 20 miles in length, and six in breadth; they had been there three days before they saw any of the natives, but then a little boat with three of them appeared. One of whom going ashore, they rowed up to him; he not only waited their coming without any signs of fear, but went on board; where they gave him a shirt and a hat, with some wine and meat, to which he expressed a liking; when he had narrowly viewed their ships, with all that were in them, he went to his own boat, about a quarter of a mile distant; and in half an hour loaded it with fish, as deep as it could swim, then came again to the same point of land, where, to show his gratitude, he divided the fish into two parts, and making signs that he designed them for the two ships, he departed. After this the natives came frequently to them, and exchanged skins, coral, and pearls, for tin, and other baubles. The next day, several boats came in view, in one of which was the king's brother, attended by fifty men. They made him, and four of his chiefs, presents of toys, which were kindly accepted; but he took them all to himself. Two days after, they let him see their merchandize, of which nothing pleased him so much, as a pewter dish; for this, he gave 20 deer-skins; the next thing he bought was a copper kettle, for fifty skins, which he put on his head, and frequently afterwards came on board, to eat, drink and be merry with them. They often trusted him with goods, to bring the value at a certain time, which he never failed doing. They also understood by the natives, that their country was very fruitful, and called *Wingandacoa*, and their king *Wingina*, and were told of a great city, where he resided, six days journey farther up the continent.

they returned to England, and gave a very advantageous account of matters, representing the country delightful; and abounding with all the necessaries of life. Upon this representation queen Elizabeth promised what was necessary for the crown to give, for perfecting this settlement; and was also pleased to bestow upon it the name of Virginia. But, however, we must not confound the Virginia, of Sir Walter Raleigh, with the province now so called; for without doubt in those days it was a very different thing, and comprehended the whole country claimed by the crown of England, from the southern limits of Georgia to the utmost extent of our discoveries northward. Not long after Sir Walter resolved to fit out a more considerable fleet for this undertaking, that something might be done worthy of the nation, of the queen who protected it, and of himself, who was the patron of this scheme; intending to have commanded in the expedition. But being at this time jealous, that his absence might be prejudicial to his interest at court, which the earl of Leicester sought all occasions to lessen, he committed the conduct of this second voyage to Sir Richard Greenville, who sailed from Plymouth with seven ships, fitted out by the company, of which himself and several gentlemen were members. This company was the first of that kind which was established in

in Europe, and king James incorporated it, by the name of the Governor and Company of the West Indies; but on account of their male-administration, it was dissolved by his son king Charles I.

June 26, 1585, Sir Richard Greenville anchored at Wokoken, and in August following began to plant upon the island Roenocke, about five miles from the continent, where he landed 108 men, under governor Lane; and captain Amadas was made admiral of the new colony, tho' we dont find he had so much as a ship left with him; Sir Richard did not remain here above three weeks, and only traded with the Indians for skins and other commodities. On his return to England he took a very rich prize, so that his voyage appeared no less prosperous than the former. No sooner was Sir Richard come from Virginia, than the people whom he had left behind, applied themselves with diligence to discover the continent, and travelled 80 miles south from that part of the main opposite to their island; but in these expeditions, venturing too far into the country, the Indian governors cut off their stragglers, when they fell into their hands; and formed a conspiracy to destroy the rest.

In this distress their chief employment was to look out to sea, in hopes to make their escape, or of some recruits: when they  
were



were almost spent with want, and watching, they discovered Sir Francis Drake's fleet, who was returning from an expedition against the Spaniards in North America, and had been commanded by the queen to visit this plantation in the way.

Their first petition to him was, to grant them a supply of men and provisions, and to leave with them a small ship, that in case they should not be able to maintain their ground, they might embark in it for England; Sir Francis granted their request, and they set all hands to work to fit the ship he had given them; but a storm arising, drove the vessel from her anchor, and she suffered so much, as not to be fit for their use. However, Sir Francis offered them another; but they being afraid to stay, intreated him to take them with him to England, which he did, and thereby put an end to the first settlement.

In the mean time Sir Richard Greenville, with a squadron consisting of four ships, arrived at Roenocke; but found not a man upon the place; however he resolved to settle again, and left behind him 50 men, with directions to build a fort for their security, furnishing them with all necessaries for two years, and promising that they should be constantly and regularly supplied. But this second colony had no better fortune than the first; for the Indians taking advantage of

the smallness of their numbers, and the difficulties they had to struggle with, attacked, and cut them all off, so that when Mr. John White came thither, with three ships, and considerable supplies, he found their fort demolished, and their huts destroyed \*.

He, however undaunted, settled a third colony, and by his good government and industry, rendered himself, and his men, formidable to the Indians: but, as much as they seemed to prosper, they underwent many hardships for want of supplies from

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\* In all these revolutions, Manteo, an Indian, remained firm to the English interest; and from his information Mr. White learned what was become of this last colony. The misfortunes that attended these two settlements, were sufficient to have discouraged a man of less fortitude of mind than Mr. White, but he had a commission to be governor, and Sir Walter strongly pressed him to keep possession of the place. Hereupon he erected a new habitation, and chusing eleven of the most capable persons he had with him, constituted a regular society, to which he gave the title of the governor and court of assistance of the city of Raleigh in Virginia; hoping thereby to answer the expectations of his honourable patron, whose name he had given to this new plantation. Manteo, the faithful Indian, was christened, and created, by the governor, lord of an Indian nation; and on the 18th of August 1587, was born the first child that was the issue of Christian parents here, she was the daughter of Mr. Dare, and was christened by the name of Virginia.

Europe;

Europe ; yet were they so far from desiring to return, that they disputed for leave to remain at Roenocke, and obliged Mr. White to return to England to obtain a grant of the necessary supplies. After two hours he had two ships fitted out for him, with provisions and more men for the colony, where he arrived ; but found, by letters cut on the palisadoes of the fort, that the English were removed to Coatan, about 20 leagues south of the former settlement. Hereupon they embarked in quest of it ; but, a dreadful storm arising soon after separated the two ships, and they were forced to shift for themselves, some arriving in England, some in Ireland, many months afterwards. This proved the ruin of the third settlement : but in this reign it was natural that wonders should be done, which was an age of public spirit, when the people ran eagerly into whatever the ministers proposed, they having only the service of their mistress at heart, who truly was the mother of her people. An instance of which, we shall give in a succinct account of the voyages of captain Davis, for the discovery of the north west passage : a design formed by some traders of the west of England, who, having heard that the same project was carrying on at London, proposed joining forces, which was accepted ; and Mr. William Sanderfon, merchant of London, who was a large contributor to-

wards the expence of the undertaking, recommended captain John Davis, as a proper person to have the direction of it. He was accordingly appointed captain of the *Sunshine*, a ship of 50 tons, and 23 men, accompanied by the *Moonshine*, of Dartmouth, of 35 tons, and 19 men. They sailed from Dartmouth June 7, 1585, and were driven to the Scilly islands, where they were kept a fortnight, then continued their coast to the north west; and June 19, they came into a whirling tide, which bent south west; they there heard a mighty roaring, which was very terrible, since the weather was so foggy, that they could not see from one ship to another, tho' at a small distance; nor could they find ground, in sounding 300 fathoms; when the captain and the master went towards the breach where they first heard the noise, and which proved to be several islands of ice floating in the sea; they carried several large pieces of them back to their boats, which melted into good fresh water.

On the 20th they discovered land, which made so horrid an appearance, that captain Davis called it the land of Desolation; hence they bore away north west, and on the 29th came into a sea free from ice, where the weather was temperate, and made land again; upon viewing the coast they found many commodious ports, and resolved to go ashore, to gain a better knowledge of the country.

Here

Here they saw evident marks of its being inhabited, by finding upon the ground a small shoe, a piece of fir, and wool like beaver; they went next upon another island, where getting upon a high rock they were seen by the people of the country, who made a hideous howling; the English made a noise likewise, to give their own people notice of what had happened, when captain Bruton of the *Moonshine*, soon came to their assistance, with a good number of seamen; and presently after ten boats full of natives advanced so near the shore, that they could easily hear them talk, and one of them seemed inclined to come to them, but first pointed to the sun, and then struck his breast. Hereupon Mr. Ellis, master of the *Moonshine*, was ordered to treat with him, and going to the sea side, he pointed to the Sun, and beat his breast as the savage had done; so he ventured on shore, and they took up caps, stockings, gloves, and what else they thought would please him, but night coming on, they parted.

Next morning 37 canoes came rowing by their ships, and called them ashore; the English, however, did not make great haste, whereupon one of the savages leaped on shore, ran to the top of a rock, there danced and beat a drum; the English then came to the water side in their boats, where they waited in their canoes to receive them. Af-

ter the usual ceremony of swearing by the sun the savages made no scruple of trusting them, but on the contrary, they readily parted with any thing they were asked for; and were content with whatever was given them, shewing no sign of treachery. The English bought of them five canoes, several of their stockings and gowns, which were, some of seal, others of bird-skins, all of them well drest and neatly made; they had plenty of furs, and gave them to understand that they would go up the country and bring them more, but the wind proving fair, captain Davis, despising profit, sailed further to the north west, and on the 6th of August came in the latitude of 66 deg. 40 min. where they landed under a mountain, the cliffs of which shone like gold.

Captain Davis having viewed every thing, began to think of giving names to the places he had discovered; he called the hill Mount Raleigh; the foot of the mount Exeter Sound; the place where the ships lay he called Totness Road; and the Northforeland, Dyer's Cape: on the south of Walsingham they killed two large white bears, the fore paw of one of which measured fourteen inches. They left this place on the 8th, and on the 11th, came to the most southerly point of land, which they called the Cape of God's Mercy. From thence they sailed thro' a streight for sixty leagues, and then discovered several fair islands,

islands, with open passages on both sides; thro' both which they would have sailed, but the wind changing, they were forced to lie by for five days; in those, which have ever since been called Davis's Straights \*.

On the 19th of September it was resolved by the officers to continue their discoveries, but the weather growing very foul, they were obliged to lie at anchor till the 24th, then set sail for England, and on the 30th arrived safely at Dartmouth. Upon their return to London, captain Davis gave

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\* *They went ashore here, and saw evident marks of the country's being inhabited; for they found part of a stone wall, and a human skull. The next day heard a great howling on shore, which they thought was that of wolves, and therefore went ashore to kill them; but it proved to be the noise of dogs; and they came instantly to meet them, wagging their tails and fawning upon them. There were twenty of them at least, all of the mastiff-kind, with short ears, and bushy tails. The seaman being afraid of them, killed two, one of which had on a leather collar. They found also two sledges, one made of boards sawed, the other of whalebone. They likewise saw larks, ravens, and partridges. The next day they went on shore again, and in an oven, built with stone, they found an image, a bird made of bones, beads for necklaces, and other trifles. The coast made no promising appearance, having neither wood nor grass to be seen; but the rocks were like marble, beautified with veins of various colours. Upon the shore they found a seal just fleeced, and hid under a heap of stones.*

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a very clear account to his owners of this expedition, who were so well satisfied, that they procured him an audience of the secretary Walsingham, who approved very much of the manner in which he had conducted it.

We shall proceed from these discoveries in the most northern parts of America, to the attempt made for fixing a settlement more to the south than any we have yet obtained. The great Sir Walter Raleigh was always useful to his country; but the most so when he had the least interest at court. In one of these voluntary exiles he executed his expedition to Guiana, being assisted by the lord admiral Howard, and Sir Robert Cecil. Having with him in the whole five ships, he sailed to the Canaries; where missing one of his company, and waiting eight days to no purpose, he proceeded to the island of Trinidad, there spent some time in viewing it, with hopes of obtaining some account of the continent, and of the most proper method of entering into Guiana, in which he succeeded: but finding they were contriving measures for his destruction, and not willing to leave an enemy behind, he resolved to reduce this place. Accordingly, he made himself master of the town of St. Joseph, without much difficulty, took the governor, and his Spaniards prisoners; and at the request of the  
Indians



Indians burnt the town, then proceeded on his discovery, resolving to visit Guiana. Accordingly, he first made a trial eastward against the mouth of the river Capuri, but this proving vain, he attempted another branch called Amana, but found this also impracticable. After which they discovered four fair entrances, but all shole and shallow. Hereupon, he ordered the carpenter to cut down an old galego boat, and fit her with oars, so as to draw but five feet water, in which went Raleigh with about sixty gentlemen and officers: in the ships boats were forty men with arms and provisions for a month, making in the whole one hundred. Thus they embarked, leaving their ships at Curiapan, having twenty miles of rough sea to cross in these crazy vessels, so that they were driven into the bottom of the bay of Guinapa, and passing between many islands, at length fell into a river, which they called Red-Cross River, which led to a town. Their Indian pilot landing here, was set upon by his countrymen, who hunted him with dogs; whereupon Raleigh seized an old man passing by, and threatened to cut off his head, if he did not procure his pilot's liberty; but he soon escaped, and swam to Sir Walter's boat. However, they kept the old man, and used him kindly, assuring themselves of useful information.

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Some time after they were in great want of provisions, and the old Indian pilot told them, if they would venture up a river on the right hand, he would bring them to a town where they might be supplied. In their passage they took two canoes laden with excellent bread, being run ashore by the Indians in them, called Arawayas. Raleigh pursued them in hopes of further intelligence, and as he was creeping thro' some bushes, found a refiner's \* basket, in which  
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\* *At the sight of these things Raleigh landed his men, and offered 500 l. to any of his soldiers who would take one of the Spaniards. He afterwards found the owners of the canoe he had taken hidden in the woods, the chief of whom he kept for his pilot, and carried him to Guiana, who informed him where the Spaniards got their gold. At this the men seemed as well pleased as their commander, and readily offered their service to follow him wheresoever he went; so that on the fifteenth day after they had left their ships, he entered the river Ooronoco, and came to the province of Aromaia, where he anchored, and sent for the king; who came the next day from his house on foot, before noon, and returned in the evening, being twenty-eight miles, notwithstanding he was 110 years old. He had a great number of attendants, who brought them plenty of flesh, fish, and fruits. After his departure Sir Walter sailed westward, to the river Caroli, because it led to those nations who were the greatest enemies to the emperor of Guiana, and fell down it below the port of Morequito, where encamping*

was the dust of some ore that had been refined, with some quicksilver, &c.

Having passed the mountain Aio, and the province of Aromaia, they came to that of Canuri, where they got to the tops of the nearest hills, to view the prodigious falls of the great river Caroli. Here they saw deer crossing every meadow, and in the evening heard birds singing. Every stone they picked up promised gold or silver by its complexion, some of which Raleigh shewed to the Spaniards, who told him it was the mother of gold. But having now been absent above a month from the fleet, and winter coming on, Sir Walter resolved to return to his ships, and the next day arrived again at the port of Morequito, and being desirous of some further discourse with the old king, he came with numbers of people to Raleigh's tent, loaden with presents, and offered him his assistance against the Guianians; but at the same time advised him not to attempt war upon them, or to leave any of his people behind him. Raleigh, upon this, finding it improper to enter into a

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*camping on the banks, he dispatched an Indian, to let the nations know he was arrived in the river. One of the princes came down, and brought store of provisions; by whom he found, that most of the Epuremei abounded in gold; and that near the banks of this river was a great silver mine.*

war

war with the Epuremei till the next year, applied himself to learn how they divided the gold from the stone \*, and brought away with him various samples of the spar, and the ore, to justify the reports of the riches of that country; this expedition being highly applauded both in prose and verse by the wits of that age: and if we take a strict view of the state of the English affairs in America, at the close of this reign, we shall find that there was scarce any part of it, whether north or south, continent, or island, with which we were not acquainted, tho' we had made no settlements any where. It was in queen Elizabeth's time that the foundation of the English commerce was laid, tho' the superstructure was raised afterwards. It was under her that our ships visited all the parts of the known world. It was she erected the Russian company, the most useful ever formed in this nation. She founded the company trading to the East Indies, and in a word, she encouraged every branch

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\* *The king told him that most of their plates and images were not severed from the stone, but that, on the lake of Manca, they gathered grains of gold with which they mixed copper, the better to work it, then put it into a large earthen pot, under which they increased the fire by the breath of men, thro' long canes till the metal dissolved, of which they made plates and images in moulds of stone or clay.*

of

of trade that had been opened before her time, projected many, and made way for all.

On king James's accession to the throne, we need not be surprized to find such vast improvements made in the trade of England; for the power of queen Elizabeth had struck such a terror over Europe, that there was scarce any nation, but was willing to embrace the friendship of her successor, and offer him such terms as were most suitable to the commercial views of his subjects, who, at that time, began to see the importance of trade, and to wish for the means of extending it. Accordingly, in the year 1604, peace being concluded with Spain; the earl of Southhampton and the lord Arundel resolved to fit out a ship for an expedition to North America, which was commanded by captain Weymouth, and sailed from Dartmouth the year following. They met with nothing material till such time as they thought themselves to be very near the coast of Virginia, when they fell upon the eastern part of an island, now called Log-island; and from thence could discover a great number of others. Among these they met with an harbour, in which ships of any burden might ride, which they called Pentecost harbour, because it was discovered about whitsuntide. The natives from the continent came often in their canoes to trade

No. 23.

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with them; whom they found very treacherous. But the most extraordinary discovery made in this voyage, was that of a river, esteemed by those who found it the most beautiful in America. After they had staid here, and carried on a very profitable trade for six weeks, they returned safe to England.

This prosperous voyage induced many persons of high rank to desire to have this new trade thoroughly established, and hereupon applied to the crown for proper authority, which was soon complied with, and two companies were formed for settling this large tract of land, which for the present was divided into North and South Virginia, and were belonging to the respective companies, being so stiled many years after \*..

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\* *James I. in order to promote this noble work, granted his letters patent, dated the 10th of April, 1606, to a society of adventurers, to begin their first plantation, where they should think fit upon any coast of Virginia, or America; between 34 and 41 deg. of latitude, and should have all the lands, woods, rivers ports, &c. for 50 miles either way along the coast north or south, and 100 miles to the west, with all the islands opposite the said coast for the space of 100 miles; and further, his majesty did hereby grant a second colony to their associates of the city of Bristol, Exeter, and the town of Plymouth; and that they might begin their first settlement upon the said coast of Virginia*

When the patentees had received this authority, they began in earnest to provide for making effectual settlements. With this view the London company fitted out three ships of different sizes, in which they embarked 110 men, with every thing necessary for settling a colony. The command of this little squadron was given to captain Newport, who sailed from London December 20, the same year. They continued their voyage to the Canaries, from thence to the Caribbee islands, and arrived at Chesapeake-bay. The first place on which they landed was the southern cape of it, where they built fort Henry, as they did on the northern Cape fort Charles, in honour of the two princes: and to the first considerable river they found, they gave the name of James-river\*.

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*Virginia, where they should think fit, between 38 and 45 deg. of latitude, with the like extent of land and sea, as was granted to the others, provided the said two colonies should not plant within 100 miles of each other; that each colony should have a council, consisting of 13 persons, in which the government should be lodged. They were impowered also to dig mines in and beyond their respective limits to the westward, paying the crown one fifth of all gold and copper; they were also impowered to seize all ships that should trade within their limits; to coin money, raise forces, &c.*

\* They sailed up this river 50 miles, to find a situation capable of being made a place, both of trade and

Here was the first English settlement that succeeded, and which has continued to this day. After about six weeks stay, captain Newport departed for England, leaving above 100 men behind him, who fell to planting, building, and fortifying; but above all, they carried on a great trade with the natives. The next year two vessels were sent from England, with men and provisions for the supply of the plantations, which now being encreased to 500 men, one at Nansamond, 30 miles below James town on the river; the other at Powhatan, six miles below the falls of the river; which was bought of a chief of the same name, who suffered them to make several other settlements in his country. When things were in this

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*and security, and at length pitched upon a peninsula, two thirds of which was surrounded with the main river, affording good anchorage, and the other third, by a small river, capable of receiving vessels of 100 tons, till it comes within 30 yards of the great river again, for this reason the land they chose to place their town upon, had the name of an Island. They gave the same name to the town, as to the river, viz. James town. The whole peninsula, inclosed as aforesaid, contained 2000 acres of high land, and many thousands of marsh, and as good pasture as any in that country. By means of the narrow passage, this place was of great security against the Indian enemy, and to strengthen it the more, they built castles and a fort.*

**prosperous**



prosperous situation, there arrived seven ships from England, with 400 planters, and ample supplies of ammunition and provisions, whereby they were enabled to have conquered the Indians, or, at least, to have obtained whatever terms they pleased : but this supply only served to encrease their confusion. Upon this, the company in England procured a new patent from king James, whereby they were impowered to appoint a governor, with more ample power, and prevailed upon the Lord de la War, to accept of the government of this new colony, who made Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, and captain Newport his deputies, till he arrived.

These gentlemen sailed from England with nine ships and 500 men in May, 1609, and all the three deputies being on board one ship, were cast away on the islands of Bermudas, being then uninhabited : but they, and all their people escaped on shore, where finding plenty of provisions, they took possession of these islands for the crown of England ; which, from Sir George Summers, have been ever since called the Summer islands. In the mean time the rest of the fleet arrived at Chesepeak, where they found captain Smith president, whom both the old and new planters refused to obey, on account of the expected arrival of the deputy governors. He however made a shift to keep them in some order while he staid among them, but being by

accident blown up, he was wounded to such a degree, as it was absolutely necessary for him to return to England. He was no sooner on board, than every one did what seemed best in his own eyes. They emptied the magazines, and lived in profusion; so that when the deputies arrived in two sloops, which they had built at Bermudas, they found them in a most deplorable condition. Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers took great pains to bring things once more into order, but all in vain; for they determined, as all their provisions were exhausted, and their men greatly diminished, to embark for England. But just as they were sailing out of the bay, the new governor arrived, who obliged them to return to James town, to repair their houses and forts, and to maintain the settlement: they soon put the colony into such a condition, that there was no danger of any attempts being made against them by the Indians. After the death of Lord de la War, Sir George Yardly succeeded to the government, in whose time tobacco was first planted, which is since become the staple commodity of this colony \*. This gentleman held the govern-

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\* *To Sir George Yardly also these people owed their being made as free as their countrymen; for he allowed the planters to send representatives to the assembly, and augmented the number of the council thereby.*

government longer than any of his predecessors, and was succeeded by Sir James Wyat, a young gentleman of a good disposition, tho' in his time the government ran a great hazard of being ruined ; for the Indians, who had lived among them in great familiarity for near eight years, now formed a design of extirpating them entirely, on account of one of their captain's being murdered. The method they took to revenge this, was by a general massacre ; which, in all probability, had answered their end, if they had not been betrayed by a converted Indian, the very day in which it was to be carried into execution ; but as the advanced plantations could not be apprised of it, the natives had now an opportunity given them of cutting off 330 persons. The English revenged this in an unbecoming manner, and not long after gave them an opportunity of satiating their revenge. As these misfortunes were occasioned by imprudent grants made in England, they also occasioned loud complaints ; and Charles I. coming to the crown, and expressing great concern for the loss of so many poor people, dissolved the company in 1626. He reduced the country and government under his own direction ; reserving to himself a

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*thereby. In his time negroes were first brought into Virginia ; the lands were divided ; salt works erected ; and an iron mine wrought with good effect.*

quit-rent of two shillings for every 100 acres of land; and appointed Sir John Harvey the first governor after this new settled constitution; who oppressed the people to such a degree, that they seized him, and sent him home prisoner. To him succeeded Sir William Berkley, who held the government longer than all his predecessors put together. He restored loyalty to Virginia long after it was lost at home; nor did he submit to the Rump till he was forced to it, and then retired to his own plantation, where he lived like a private gentleman, and was greatly respected by the inhabitants. After he left the government, three persons were sent from England, who ruled, one after another, for seven years under the parliament's authority; the last of whom was Mr. Matthews. Upon this accident the people of Virginia desired Sir William to resume the government. He had a commission from king Charles II. who was then in exile, but absolutely refused to act, unless the people would acknowledge his master; to which they readily consented, there being a great number of gentlemen, who had been ruined in support of the royal cause, and retired into this colony from England. In consequence of this resolution, king Charles II. was proclaimed in Virginia, before he was acknowledged in any of his three kingdoms. But the restoration happened luckily for Sir  
William

William, when he went over to England to compliment the king on his return, and to take instructions for his future conduct. Soon after he came back to Virginia, and put the people upon improving their plantations, and advancing their manufactures of silk, flax, and cotton, he gave a sanction to the new body of laws, and took care to carry them into execution.

Being now come down in the history of Virginia as far as this period will permit, we are next to give an account of the nature and condition of the colony, that it may appear how amply it rewards this nation for all the care and expence bestowed in planting of it. Its situation is remarkably happy, having the river Potowmac on the north east, the Atlantic ocean on the east, Carolina on the south, and the Apalachian mountains on the west, which separate it from Florida. The air chiefly depends upon the winds: in July and August it is sultry, and the air was formerly in a manner stagnant, which made the country very sickly; but by clearing the ground, and cutting down the woods, it is now rendered more wholesome and agreeable \*. Thus much may suffice with

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\* The soil is generally low towards the sea, and for 100 miles up the country there is scarcely a hill or stone to be found. The whole country before it was planted

with regard to the nature of this plantation, we shall now proceed to enquire into its condition as a colony. It is divided into 25 countries, of which, the chief is James-country, lying on both sides the river of the same name, which contains five parishes, and the only two towns worthy mentioning in Virginia, namely, James town, and Williamsburgh; to which last place the seat of the government is now transferred, tho' it does not consist of above 40 houses. The num-

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*planted, was either forest or morass. The bay of Chesapeake runs almost north up the country 300 miles, is about 20 miles broad, and navigable all along that coast. Into the west side of this bay fall four great rivers, namely, James river; York river; Potowmac river, and the river Rappahannock. As to animals, there were neither horses, cows, sheep, or swine, before the coming of the English. Here are elks, red-deer, hares, musk-rats, raccoons, squirrels, wild-cats, wolves, beavers, and many kinds of dogs. As to birds, they have three sorts of eagles, viz. the grey, the bald, and the black eagle, also several sorts of hawks, and a white owl very beautiful. They have wild turkies very large; partridges; and a bird called the mocking-bird; and the humming bird with a long bill and fine feathers; with fowl of all kinds. No place in the world is better provided for fish: But the great produce of the country is tobacco, which is looked upon to be the best in the world, of which vast quantities were here produced, before any Europeans came thither; but how they cultivated or cured it, is not now known, since they buy of us what they now consume.*

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ber of people in all the counties, taken all together, are computed to amount to about half a million; of these, 100,000 are free-men, and above 20,000 capable of bearing arms; amongst whom are not above 700 Indians; we then shall lay it down as a thing certainly to be depended upon, that every white person in Virginia is worth to this nation ten pounds a year \*, which must seem

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\* In order to solve this problem, we must consider, that the people in Virginia live much as we do, or rather in a more hospitable, consequently more expensive way; being such as prevailed here; oh when! above a century ago. But as they are supplied with necessaries, and instruments of labour, as well as the means of luxury from England, it follows of course, that they must employ a great number of hands to provide these. For it is well known that such demands are to be supplied by such mechanics as have the most hands in their service; the commodities sent thither, besides linnen, silks, India goods, wine, and other foreign manufactures, being all such as are made in England. Now if they were to employ these several kinds of artificers, and pay them their wages, as also their merchants and factors, this would not be all; for the things brought to the factor are never the nearer to the planter in Virginia, till they are put into the hands of the merchant who is to export them, and who must be paid for the carriage of them; so that now I think the meanest capacity may understand, that the labour of every head in any plantation may be made worth four times as much to the community of his mother country

seem prodigious to such as have not applied themselves to calculation, seeing it will make the value of this colony equal to an annuity of 1,200,000 pounds per annum; as we have attempted to prove in the note below; but that we may not be thought to do things by halves, our next care shall be to remove this difficulty to the satisfaction of all; from considering that the trade of this colony, as well as that of Maryland, consist chiefly in tobacco. This trade is brought to such perfection, that the sweet-scented tobacco of Virginia, especially; is esteemed the best in the world, and is what is generally vend- ed in England for a home consumption; that of Maryland having a greater demand in Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany, as being hotter in the mouth. From this commodity, therefore, we are to look for the best part of that vast sum aforementioned.

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*country, as if he wrought at home: for if he spends so much as pays for his subsistence, his labour must produce so much; both which are undeniable. This shews the great advantages accruing to the mother country from foreign plantations, and we hope there is no occasion to say how much regard is due from those who manage the affairs of the mother country, to those who live and labour for her in the plantations.*

*It*



It appears from several different calculations, made by those who are best acquainted with these matters, that in time of peace there is little less than 100,000 hogsheads of tobacco exported every year from this colony; that between three and 400 ships are employed in the trade, and upwards of 4000 seamen. Now if we take things upon this footing, the 100,000 hogsheads of tobacco only, will amount very near to the sum we have fixed, for the produce of the colony to this nation: but as it may be urged, that if we take tobacco for the commodities that we send to Virginia, it differs widely from an annuity; and instead of receiving the said sum of 1,200,000 l. from the plantation, we return them considerably more in the most valuable things we have for their tobacco, which we might very well do without \*. But besides the money saved to the nation

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\* *This objection, in our opinion, when strictly considered, makes more in favour of the colony of Virginia, than any thing we have said. It is generally agreed, that Sir Walter Raleigh first brought tobacco into England, and we find the use of it much recommended by many learned men, notwithstanding king James wrote a book against it, and that the practice of smoking was very common here before his time, when we had most of our tobacco from Brazil, and some of the Spanish plantations, at the rate of 17 s. F f per*

nation by the use of tobacco, we export 60,000 hogshheads, which at 5l. each, amount to 300,000l. exclusive of the duty which is not drawn back.

In what we have hitherto said concerning Virginia, we have only pursued the history of the first company established by king James's patent. We come now to account for the conduct of the Western or Plymouth company, trading with the natives of North Virginia, for furs, and fishing upon that coast. Two ships being employed in this fishery in 1614, one commanded by captain John Smith, the other by captain Hunt, the former went on shore, and took a view of the country of Massachusetts, and had a skirmish with the natives, then returned to England, ordering Hunt to sail with the other ship to Spain, to sell the fish he had

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*per lb. Now if we had come to use as much of it as we do of the Virginia tobacco, at the price of 5 s. this single article of luxury, would have cost us above 7,000,000 a year; and tho' we readily agree that this is an improbable supposition, since in such a case there would have been a number of people to whom the dearneſs would have proved a restraint, let us suppose we might then have consumed 10,000 hogshheads instead of 40,000, and it would have amounted to above a million, and consequently so much ready money is hindered from going out of the nation, by bringing in of the Virginia tobacco, which viewed in this light is equivalent to so much silver.*

taken

taken: but he proposing to make a market of the natives as well as the cargo, as soon as Smith was gone, enticed 27 Indians on board, and sailed with them to Malaga, where he sold his ship, and the Indians at 20 l. per man; among whom was one called Squanto, who afterwards proved very serviceable to the English. This outrage was highly resented by the Indians, and all commerce with them for the present became impracticable.

In 1619, captain Dormer was sent to New England, and with him Squanto, as an interpreter, with a view of settling a colony in Massachusetts's bay; but they would not be reconciled, and in a skirmish they had with them, Dormer was wounded, whereupon he proceeded to Virginia, leaving his interpreter on shore in New England. The patentees having met with such discouragement, laid aside all thoughts of making a settlement. However other adventurers carried on the trade, and sent eight ships from London and Plymouth in this and the next year, with good success; and it is very probable the commerce would have been carried on in this manner, without any thoughts of planting, tho' that was the motive on which the patent was granted; so early the companies did make that their least care for which they were constituted: but here it

fell out otherwise; for a congregation of independents, who for the sake of religion had retired to Holland, and formed themselves into a church, under Mr. John Robinson, to the number of 120 persons, applied to Robert Nanton, to gain the king's consent that they might transport themselves to America, to enjoy liberty of conscience. His majesty readily consented, saying, "It was a good and honest proposal." They sailed from Plymouth in September following, and arrived at Cape Cod the 9th of November, and fixed upon a commodious place to build a town, which, tho' not within the limits of the patent, they resolved not to trouble themselves about obtaining any farther licence, but to submit to providence. In consequence of this resolution they raised their new town of Plymouth in an agreeable country. Having fixed themselves here, they saw very few natives till the March following, when they came in a friendly manner to bid them welcome into the country, and informed them that their great Sachen, called Massaffoiet, resided but three days march to the northward, and intended them a visit. Soon after he arrived with a retinue of 60 people, and being received by captain Standish, at the head of a file of musketeers, was conducted to a kind of throne they had erected in one of their

their houses \*. Soon after the prince was seated, the governor, Mr. Carver, came in with a guard of musketeers, whereupon Mossaffoiet rose up and kissed him ; then they both sat down and drank plentifully of brandy. In this prince's retinue was Squanto, who had a very great affection for the English, and it was thro' him that this prince entered into an alliance with them. The treaty being concluded, the king returned to his capital, leaving Squanto with the colony, who proved very useful, not only as an interpreter, but by teaching them how to plant the Indian corn, who piloted them along the coast, and supplied them with fish, fowl, and venison.

Soon after the ships returned to England, they made choice of Mr. Bradford for a governor, who enjoyed that post many years, and thoroughly established the

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\* This monarch was of a large stature, middle aged, of a grave countenance, and sparing of his speech ; his face was painted red, and that, with his head, were smeared over with oil ; he had a mantle of a deer skin, and his breeches and stockings, which were all of a piece, were all of the same materials ; his knife hung at his breast on a string, his tobacco pouch behind him ; his arms were covered with wild cat skins, and in the same garb were his principal attendants, having no marks of distinction, unless it was, that the sovereign wore a chain of fish-bones about his neck.

E f 3

plantation.

plantation ; but the colony of Plymouth, still remaining without a patent, or any title to the lands they possessed from the North Virginia, or New England company, they sent over Mr. Winslow to solicit for both in 1624, who succeeded beyond their expectations \*.

In 1625, Mr. White, minister of Dorchester, observing the success of the Plymouth colony, projected a new settlement in the Massachusetts bay in New England, and, with his friends, procured a grant from the North Virginia company, and afterwards obtained a patent from king Charles I. for himself and his associates, their heirs

\* *Here it will be necessary to explain what is meant by New England, since in reality it is a general name for several colonies, tho' there is no particular plantation, or province properly so called. We are therefore to observe, that under this denomination was originally comprehended that part of America, which had formerly been stiled North Virginia, and Norem-begua ; and the way it acquired this name was thus. When captain Smith made his voyage thither, he went ashore with no more than eight persons, and at that time drew a plan of as much of the country as he had seen, and, upon his return, shewed it to the prince of Wales. His royal highness, afterwards king Charles I. read it, and gave several English names to places distinguish'd by Indian appellations ; and, from captain Smith's information of the soil and climate of the country, called it New England.*

and

and assigns, to hold all that part of New England which lies between the great river Merimack and Charles river, at the bottom of Massachuset's bay; and all lands, &c. three miles north of the first, and three miles south of the last mentioned rivers, in longitude from the Atlantic to the South Sea; yielding and paying to his majesty a fifth part of such gold and silver as should be found within the said limits. This company was afterwards incorporated by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachuset's bay in New England.

This new colony was supported with great vigor, and such mighty embarcations were made for its service, as plainly shewed of how great consequence it appear'd to those who were its protectors in England; and in the same year ten sail of large ships, with 200 planters, were sent over, who erected two new settlements, the one called Charles town, the other Dorchester; and in a short time part of the inhabitants of Charles town, passing over to the opposite side, erected Boston, which is now the capital of New England; and, as new planters arrived every year, the colony was soon overstock'd; when one Mr. Roger Williams, pastor of a church of independents, went and settled without this government, and called his new plantation Providence,

dence, which afterwards was united to Rhode island.

In 1635, arrived a larger fleet from England; and, among other persons of distinction who came in it, was Henry Vane, Esq; son of Sir Henry Vane, secretary of state to king Charles I. with whom the people was so taken, that they elected him their governor. He formed a project of erecting a new plantation to the north west of the Massachusetts bay, on Connecticut river, and agents were sent to view the country, who made such an advantageous report, that many of the planters of Dorchester, &c. entertained thoughts of removing thither, being straitened for room where they were. While the south west parts of New England were thus filling with inhabitants, the north east were not neglected. The English frequented that coast for fishing, and the fir-trade; this put some of them on attempting a settlement between the rivers Merimac and Sagadahock, which succeeded so well, that in a few years there were two countries laid out, New Hampshire, and Main, and several towns built, as Dover, Hampton, Wells, &c. These planters formed themselves into a body politick, after the example of Connecticut colony; thus they continued, till, being wearied out with divisions, they petition'd the general court of the Massachusetts to be brought within their jurisdiction.



jurisdiction, which was done: yet in 1684, they made an absolute resignation of their charter, and the government of it has remained in the hands of the crown ever since\*. The four footed animals in North America are numerous, and much the same as in other countries, excepting one, which is peculiar to New England, and seems to deserve a particular description; it is called the Moose, one of the noblest creatures in the forest; there are two sorts of them, the grey moose, which the Indians call Wampose, and the black moose, of which we have the following account. It is much like a deer, parts

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\* The country of New England comprehends at present four considerable governments, to wit, the Massachusetts, which with New Plymouth and the Main are now included in one charter; New Hampshire, which remains a separate government, Connecticut, which comprehends New Heaven and Rhode island, with Providence plantation. The whole country extends from 41 to 45 deg. north latitude, and lies betwixt 67 and 73 deg. west long. bounded on the north west by Canada, on the north east by Nova Scotia, on the south by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by New York, being in length something more than 300 miles, and 200 in breadth. It is owing to the conveniency of so many fine rivers, that this country is so full of large and populous towns, there is also such plenty of small brooks and springs, that there is scarce any place where water may not be had, by sinking a well to the depth of 10 feet, which is almost every where good, and fit for all uses.

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the hoof, chews the cud, has no gall, and his ears are large and erect ; the hair of the black moose is of a dark grey, upon the ridge of his back, and is twelve inches long, of which the Indians make belts. The Indian hunters have found a stag moose ten feet and a half high, a quarter of this venison weighing more than 200 lb. the horns, when full grown, are five feet from the head to the tip, and have shoots and branches to each horn, which generally spread six feet ; these prodigious horns are shed every year ; they do not spring in going like a deer, but shove along side-ways, and have been seen to step over a gate five feet high in their common walk ; their flesh is excellent food, and will bear salting ; the nose it looked upon as a great dainty ; the female moose calves every year, and generally brings two ; they calve standing, and the young ones fall from the dam upon their feet.

The islands of Bermudas were discovered by a Spaniard of the same name ; after which they were frequently touched at by his countrymen in their passage to the West Indies, but were quite unknown to us ; till 1593, when Sir George Summers and Sir Thomas Gates were shipwreck'd upon them ; these gentlemen, at their return, gave such an account of the country to the Virginia company, as they thought it worth while to establish a correspondence with them. Accordingly

Accordingly they sold these islands to 120 persons of the same society, who obtained a charter from king James, and became proprietors of them. Some writers will persuade us, that these islands received their name from the vast quantity of black hogs found upon them. Bermudas in the old Spanish tongue signifying a black hog. They lie in 32 deg. 30 min. north latitude, at a vast distance from the continent, and are above 1600 leagues distant from England. The air here is wholesome, and the country pleasant; there is but one season in the island, and this is a perpetual spring; they have all the plants peculiar to the West Indies, and all kinds of herbs, roots, flowers and trees, brought from Europe, thrive to perfection \*. As for animals, there were none

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\* They have two very singular plants; the first is called the Summer-island red-wood, the berry of which is red as the prickly pear, giving also that tincture; out of this berry come first worms, which afterwards turn into flies, and have a medicinal virtue. The poison weed is the other strange plant, which grows like our ivy; and, if we may depend upon a gentleman who lived here, and sent an account of what was remarkable to the royal society, there is not a more surprising production than this in nature. He says, he had seen a man so infected by it, as to have all the skin of his face peel off, tho' he passed by without touching it, and yet affirms, that he had chewed it without feeling any inconvenience

none in Bermudas but hogs, insects and birds, when Sir George Summers was shipwrecked. The English, at their first coming, found a sort of fowl here, they called cuckoos, which bred in holes in the earth, like rabbits, and were so gentle, as to be taken by the hand. This bird is of the bigness of a sea mew. Here are also tropic birds, and the pemlico, seldom seen by day, and when it is, held to be the foreteller of a storm. The insects in these islands are the same as in our other plantations, except it be the spider, which is thought to be larger here than in any part of the world, and is so adorned with beautiful colours, as to take off that distaste, which otherwise the sight of creatures, of this kind, and of so enormous a size, would naturally occasion. Their bodies are composed of two parts, one flat, and the other round, like a pigeon's egg; their mouths are covered with a kind of grey hairs, and on each side they have a crooked tooth, of a fine polished substance, extremely hard, and of a bright shining black, which are set in silver and gold for tooth picks; they have ten leg's, five on each side, each of which has four joints, and two small claws at the end. They weave their web so strong,

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*inconvenience; whence he infers, it can't be hurtful alike to all constitutions; and that there is nothing venomous besides in any of these islands.*

that

that birds of the size of a thrush are sometimes caught in them.

There is scarce an eighth part of these islands inhabited, and all but St. George's, St. David's, and Cooper's isles, have only a few houses scattered up and down. The main island of all is called St. George's; and is about 16 miles long, tho' not a league over in the broadest place.

The thing that occurs in order of time, is to ascertain our right to that part of the continent of America, which lies north from New England, and is now called Nova Scotia; but was then looked upon as part of North Virginia, and as such, within the charter of the western company; who gave strict orders to those in their service to prevent foreign nations from settling in their limits; the bounds of this province are, the Ocean to the north; Cape Breton islands, and the bay of Sir Lawrence to the east; Canada to the west; and New England to the south. Sir Samuel Argall, then governor of Virginia, made a voyage round the coast northwards as far as Cape Cod. In the year 1618, five or six years before the English, who intended to settle, arrived in that country; the Indians told him, that some white men, like himself, were come to settle to the northward of them. Sir Samuel, who took all that country, as far as it had been discovered by Cabot, to be-

long to the Virginia company, sailed thither, and found the settlement, with a ship riding before it, which belonged to some Frenchmen. He drew so close to the ship, that, with his small arms, he drove the men from the deck, and took her. The next day the French came and yielded to Sir Samuel, cancelling the patents that had been granted them by the French king. He permitted such as were so disposed to return to Europe, and took the rest with him to Virginia, according to their choice. The French had another settlement at a place they called Port Royal, on a bay on the south west coast of Nova Scotia; of which Sir Samuel being informed, he obliged them to quit the country, and they removed to the river of St. Lawrence, where now is the capital of Canada, or New France.

When Sir Ferdinand Gorges was president of the New England company, he proposed to Sir William Alexander, the procuring a grant for the land to the northward of their patent, which was obtained of king James, in 1622, and Sir William sent a ship with some passengers to settle there, as being the original proprietor; but notwithstanding all his care, this project proved abortive, and there was afterwards another grant made of this country, to Sir David Kirk, from whom the French king bought it, or at least contracted to give him 5000*l.* for

for it; a very plain proof that his majesty acknowledged the right by which he held it; and a French nobleman, many years after that, bought Sir William Alexander's property likewise \*. But Oliver Cromwell sent major Sedgwick to dislodge the French from Port Royal; which he did; and tho' the Protector afterwards agreed, that the French proprietor should enjoy the country, yet it was upon condition, that he should make out this right by purchase from Sir William Alexander, now earl of Sterling, which he afterwards did, and then sold it to Sir Thomas Temple, who was both proprietor and governor at the restoration.

After this, the French settled here again, and remained in peaceable possession till 1696, when they were dispossessed by Sir William Phips, governor of New England; but it was afterwards given up again to the French by the treaty of Ryfwick. 'Tis not, however, to be understood, that king Charles II. or king William III. by their respective treaties with France, gave up the claim of this nation to that country, but on-

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\* It may be asked why the crown of England did not prevent these sales; and the plain answer is, that the French Protestants being principally concerned in these settlements, the crown had a regard for them.

ly permitted them possession, which, as the circumstances of things then stood, they were unwilling to contest. In all these changes, however, the island of Cape Breton followed the Fate of Nova Scotia, and both continued in the hands of the French, till the year 1710, when governor Nicholson made himself master of Port Royal, which was become a place of great importance; especially as it gave the French an opportunity of distressing our trade. We need not wonder, therefore, that the taking of this place was looked upon as a remarkable service, or that the queen should bestow her name upon it, to shew that she never meant to part with it. Upon the same principle, colonel Nicholson, on his return to England, had a commission granted him to be governor of Nova Scotia, and of Annapolis Royal, and commander of all her majesty's forces in Newfoundland. While things were in this situation, a peace was concluded at Utrecht; in the 12th article whereof it is stipulated, that all Nova Scotia, with all its ancient boundaries, as also the city, now called Annapolis Royal, and other things in these parts, which depend on sands and islands, together with the property, dominion, possession of the said islands, lands, and all rights whatsoever, by treaties, or by any other way obtained, are ceded to the crown  
of



of Great Britain. To which the French king added the exclusion of his subjects from fishing on the coast of Nova Scotia, and within 30 leagues thereof. There is no doubt but this article, as it is worded, contains the restitution of Cape Breton, which ought to have gone along with Nova Scotia, as it had done formerly ; and this is the general sentiment of such as were best acquainted with the affair, which induced the queen, in her instructions to the late duke of Shrewsbury, when he went ambassador to France, to declare that she looked upon the island of Cape Breton to belong to her, as being part of the territory of Nova Scotia : but notwithstanding this article in the queen's instructions, the French were suffered to keep it, tho' undoubtedly this gave them no right to demand it.

We are very far from thinking, in the case of plantations, that possession is the only, or even the best right, because such a doctrine might confer right upon pirates. The best claim of civilized nations with respect to new countries, has ever been allowed to be the first discovery. This is the right on which our title is founded, and that very justly, to all the countries bordering on Davis's Streights, Hudson's Bay, and so forward to the limits of Georgia; and this right being inherited with the crown of England, could never be transferred to a foreign

G g 3

power

power without the consent of parliament, tho' the temporary possession might \*.

We now pass to the famous island of Barbadoes, which may be justly esteemed the best peopled, and best cultivated spot of ground, not in America only, but in the whole known world. The first Englishmen that landed here, were some of Sir William Curteen's seamen, in the latter end of the reign of James I. who at their return to England, made so favourable a report of the soil and climate, that some adventurers went over with a design to plant it, but finding it covered with wood, and seeing no other animals upon it, than hogs, their expectations were for a great while baffled. The property of this island was afterwards granted to James earl of Carlisle by king Charles I. of whom several gentlemen purchasing shares, went over, and first endeavoured at the

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\* In those treaties by which Acadia, or Nova Scotia was left to France, the crown only stipulated not to deprive them of their possession, during the continuance of the peace; but the right still remained, and must always remain in us. It has been already shewn that the French acknowledged this, as appears by the king of France's purchasing under our title; nor was it ever disputed, till the treaty of Utrecht, that the island of Cape Breton belonged to Nova Scotia. We may add to this, that our title to Labrador, or New Britain is unquestionable, of which country Nova Scotia is part.

planting

planting of tobacco ; but this not answering their expectations, they proceeded to try cotton and indico, which turned to a considerable account ; but they made but little sugar till 1647 ; when colonel Modiford, colonel Drax, and colonel Walrond, finding there was no living with satisfaction under the usurper, converted their estates into money, and transported themselves to Barbadoes, to carry on sugar-works there. Colonel Drax, it is said, in a few years acquired an estate of 8000 l. per ann. and married the earl of Carlisle's daughter, and the adventurers fixing their chief settlement on a great bay in the south west part of the island, called it Carlisle bay, in honour of the proprietor. The Rump apprehended this island of such consequence that they sent a strong Squadron thither in 1651, to compel the lord Willoughby, appointed governor by king Charles II. to surrender the island to the usurper, and appointed Mr. Searl to take upon him that office. In 1661, king Charles II. purchased the property of this island of the lord Kinowl, heir to the earl of Carlisle, and appointed the lord Willoughby governor a second time. In 1674, Sir Jonathan Atkins being made governor, had orders to seize all the ships trading to Africa for negroes, that trade being granted to the Royal African company about this time exclusive of all others. And many ships belonging to Barbadoes, bringing over negroes afterwards, were condemned and forfeited

feited as interlopers, which that colony complained of as a great grievance, and which was not redressed till after the revolution; when that trade was laid open to all the subjects of England, paying ten per cent. towards the charge of their forts. As this noble island is justly esteemed the most valuable plantation, for its size, that ever this nation possessed, we shall give a particular description of it and its product below \*. The growing success of this new  
sugar

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\* *The island of Barbadoes is situated in the Atlantic Ocean, in 13 deg. north lat. being about 25 miles in length, from south to north, and 15 in breadth, from east to west. It is for the most part a level country, with scarce any wood upon it at present, being all cut down, to make room for plantations of sugar-canes, nothing else being here cultivated in any great quantities. The coast is defended on the east by rocks and shoals, from the invasion of an enemy; and on the west, where it is most exposed to a descent, several redoubts and breast-works are erected for its security; but the repair of them is too much neglected. There is scarce a stream in the island that deserves the name of a river, however, they have good water in the wells all over it, and do not dig very deep. The only town of any consequence is Bridge town, situate in Carlisle bay. Besides sugar, which is the chief produce and manufacture of the island; they have cotton, indico, ginger, and pimento. Their fruits are oranges, citrons, melons, limes, pomegranates, cocoa-nuts, indian-figs, and all manner of roots and garden stuff, but very few flowers. Their horses are imported from New England, having but a slight breed of their own.*  
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sugar colony promoted the settlement of the other, which gave birth to the Guinea trade, for supplying those colonies with negroes; and as the planters flourished, their demands encreased for all manner of British manufactures, and such necessaries of life as could not be produced in those climates; which opened another trade to the English merchants, to furnish these colonies with wine from Madeira. These branches of trade were of the utmost advantage to Great Britain, insomuch, that Mr. Joshua Gee tells us, the clear profits arising from the sugar trade, and those other branches which chiefly depend thereon, amount to more than one million a year; and farther, that it appears by the custom-house in London, that the exports, from Great Britain to the sugar-colonies, were a few years ago upwards of 500,000l. sterling every year. And this great source of treasure to the mother country arose

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*They have also cows and sheep, but the last do not thrive here. Hogs flesh is the best meat that is eaten in these hot climates. They have indeed good fish and poultry, but all manner of provision is very dear; and there is no dining at an ordinary under 5 s. per head. Their liquor is chiefly Madeira wine, and rum punch, of which they make vast quantities out of the molasses. The number of white people are at present computed at 30,000; the negroes, mulattoes, and mestive slaves, about 100,000. Their militia consists of 1500 horse and 300 foot.*

from

from a few families seeking shelter in a desolate island. This shews what may be done by industry and trade, rightly applied.

We come lastly to assign the comparative excellency of this colony, with regard to our own, and other colonies in America. It is thought that Barbadoes contains 140 square miles; and if so, it is in proportion, as 1, to 34,771, in respect to the Spanish plantations; as one to 12,000 in regard to our own; as 1 to 11,000 in reference to the French, and as 1 to 4 as to the Dutch. This, as to the extent of territory, is as just a computation as can be made, but with regard to the value of these colonies, we may truly affirm, that the produce of Barbadoes is very near equal to a twentieth part of what Spain annually receives from her Indies. --- We have insisted the longer on this head, because it may enable us to form some notion of what might be made of our plantations if we attended to them as much as they deserve: for tho' it may be, and perhaps is impossible to improve any of them in proportion to what has been done in Barbadoes, yet we may very well discern from hence, that they might be made incontestably more profitable to us than they now are; or indeed than the whole trade which we now possess.

We come next to the island of St. Christophers, which was discovered by Columbus  
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in his first voyage to America \*. It is about 75 miles in circumference, and was inhabited by the Caribbeans, when Sir Thomas Turner, an English adventurer, went thither. Monsieur Desnambue, who commanded for the French in America, arrived there the same day with Sir Thomas, and both took possession of the island in the names of their respective masters. This done, they left some of their men upon the place, and returned, one to England, and the other to France, for recruits. Sir Thomas came back first, and had proceeded a good way in his settlement before the latter arrived ; having each of them about 300 men. The two governors, to prevent any differences among their people, signed articles, and set boundaries to their several divisions, with this proviso, that fishing and hunting should be free to the inhabitants of both nations ; and that the salt-ponds, and timber should be in common, with the mines and havens.

The English received supplies of men, and provisions from London, by which

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\* Columbus gave this island the name of St. Christophers, from the figure of its mountains: there being in the upper part of it one very high, which bears another on its summit much less ; as St. Christopher is painted like a giant, with our Saviour on his back.

means

means they throve better than the French, and not only became strong enough to keep possession of what they had, but to be able to send men for new plantations at Nevis, of which also Sir Thomas Warner took possession, and left people upon it for a settlement in 1628. The very next year, Don Frederick de Toledo came with a fleet of 24 ships and 15 frigates to dispossess the English and French: and having them now in his power, commanded them to leave the island immediately, or he would put them to the sword, giving them their own ships, which he had seized at Nevis to embark in, and leave for those to stay, who had not room in the ships, for themselves and their families, till they could be transported. Hereupon Don Frederick weighed anchor, taking with him 600 English: but he was no sooner gone, than the English who were left behind, rallied, and resolved to go on with their settlement; which they continued till they were enabled to spare more men to settle at Barbuda, Montserrat, and Antigua, all which Sir Thomas Warner peopled and planted. The same year the Dutch made themselves masters of St. Eustace, and the French of some other islands. When Monsieur Disnambue returned to St. Kits, and found the English were re-established, and had built themselves good houses, he seemed to be content with



with huts built after the Caribbean manner. In the year 1637, the French governor died, and Sir Thomas Warner did not survive him long, but before he died the colony was so increased, that there were 13,000 souls of his own nation in the island. He was succeeded by colonel Rich, who followed his steps in the government of these plantations, which invited more people to come and settle there. The chief employment of the first planters was cultivating tobacco, but this after some time becoming a drug, they set themselves to plant sugar, indico, and cotton, and in a little time became a flourishing people, both French and English, living cordially together, till the last war broke out, when the English drove the French entirely from their settlements \*, and the country being yielded to the crown

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\* Some pretend, that notwithstanding the French part of St. Christopher's was by far the richest, we were no gainers by obtaining it; but that, on the contrary, the French received benefit thereby; because it enabled them to people the rest of their islands effectually; but whoever considers that the sugars of this island are the best in all America; that the plantations were in perfect order; and that the French ventured a war to prevent our settling St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, will scarcely believe that they parted with a country ready settled, and more valuable than both those islands, with their good will.

of Great Britain by the peace of Utrecht, all the French territory was sold for the benefit of the public, which must have produced a very large sum, since out of it there were 80,000 l. paid for the marriage portion of her royal highness the princess of Orange.

We shall now proceed to the island of Montserrat, which name was given to it by the Spaniards, from the resemblance it had to a mountain of Catalonia, not far from Barcelona, famous for a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in the greatest esteem with the Catholics of any, except that of Loretto. It is about three leagues in length, and as much in breadth; so that it seems to be of a round figure; and was first settled by Sir Thomas Warner, who was the first governor of St. Christopher's. This small island flourished in its infancy more than Antigua, but since the lord Willoughby's time the latter has got the start of it. As to the climate, soil, animals, trade, and productions of this isle, they are much the same with those of the other caribbee islands, only, that this is fuller of mountains, which are covered with cedars, and make a lovely prospect from the Sea. The vallies are fruitful, and better stored with fresh water than those of Antigua.

The island of Barbuda comes next under consideration, and is about 15 miles long, which  
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the English began to plant as early as Nevis, Montserrat, or any other of the Leeward islands, St. Christopher's excepted; for Sir Thomas Warner, who first settled there, placed a small colony in this island, which was often attacked by the Caribbeans, and the English as often forced to desert it; but these Barbarians daily diminishing in number, and the Britains increasing, they at length possessed themselves of the island, and there are now 12,000 souls upon it\*; and their number is daily increasing. This island has bred great store of cattle, and the inhabitants are employed in farming, corn and provisions coming always to a good market in the sugar islands. Here are plenty of all kinds of tame cattle as in Europe, and the common people live here much in the same manner as they do in England, only their labour in the field is not so hard, the country being hotter.

Pass we next to the plantation of Anguilla, or Snake island, so called from its figure, being a long tract of land, narrow, and winding almost round. The country is level and woody. There is not a mountain in it. In the broadest place there is a lake, about

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\* *The proprietor of the island of Barbuda is the honourable Christopher Codrington, Esq; who puts in a governor here, having the same prerogative as the other lords proprietors in America.*

which the English settled in 1650. Their business is to plant corn and breed cattle. They were poor, and continue so to this day, being perhaps the most indolent creatures in the world. Some people have gone from Barbadoes, and the other English Caribbee islands thither, and there they live like the first race of men, without government or religion, having neither minister nor magistrate. They are said to make up, all together, about 150 families, or 900 souls.

We have now gone thro' all the Caribbee islands, that of Antigua or Antego only excepted, of which we shall treat more at large hereafter. As to the value of these islands to Great Britain, the best account we can get is, to the following effect. St. Christopher's is the largest of them all; but the middle part of it being extremely mountainous, there are not above 24,000 acres of land fit for sugar, which produce about 10,000 hogsheads of that commodity; Antigua 16000 annually, Nevis 6000, and Montserrat 2500 hogsheads. In Barbuda they breed cattle; in Anguilla they raise corn.

We are now, in the order of time, with respect to the settlements of our colonies, to return to the continent of North America, and to give an account of Maryland, which continued a part of Virginia till 1632, when king Charles I. was pleased to grant all the country, to the north of Potowmac river,  
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not then planted, to Cecilius Calvert, earl of Baltimore, and this part of the country was afterwards called Maryland, in honour to the queen consort, Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter of Henry IV. king of France. The lord Baltimore, having obtained this grant, sent over his brother Leonard with some Roman Catholic gentlemen, to the number of 200, to take possession of the country, who arrived in the bay of Chesapeake, in the beginning of the year following, being kindly received and supplied with provisions by the English at Virginia; whence they continued their voyage northward to the river Potowmac, and near the mouth of a river which falls into it, by them called St. George's river, they made choice of a place to settle the first colony. They afterwards advanced to an Indian town called Yeamaco, the capital of the country; and in a conference with the sovereign of the place, to whom they made presents, he consented that the English should dwell in one part of the town till the harvest was over, then agreed to quit it, and retire farther up the country. Accordingly, in March following, he abandoned the country, leaving Mr. Calvert and his planters in possession of the whole town, to which they gave the name of St. Mary's.—The new inhabitants immediately applied themselves to cultivating the ground, and raised great quantities of In-

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dian corn, while the natives went every day into the woods to hunt for game, bringing home venison and turkies in abundance, for which they received tools, knives, and toys in return. Thus both nations lived in amity with each other, till some of the English in Virginia, envying the happiness of this thriving colony, suggested to the Indians, that these strangers were Spaniards, and designed to enslave them, as they had done many of their countrymen; and the Indians, being so credulous as to believe it, made preparations to fall upon them, which Mr. Calvert observing, he erected a fort for their security, on which some pieces of cannon were mounted, at the firing whereof the Yeamaco's were so terrified, that they abandoned the country, and left the English in full possession; who have now no other enemies to deal with, but fevers and agues, which carried off some of them before they found out a proper regimen for the climate: but when they had procured this, they soon became a flourishing people<sup>l\*</sup>. While the civil

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\* 'Tis true, there is but little money in this province, and they have little occasion for any, their tobacco answering all the uses of silver and gold in trade. The planters in Maryland finding so good a vent for this commodity, which is called Oronoko in foreign markets, particularly in the eastern and northern parts of Europe,

civil war lasted in England, the lord Baltimore's family were deprived of the government of this province, but were restored to their right again by Charles II. Whatsoever the great design might be, when this settlement was first made, most certain it is, that no country in America has had fewer disturbances on the score of religion. There are people of all persuasions in the colony, who live together in the greatest tranquillity, as if they forgot the points about which they differ, and remembered to agree in those of being Englishmen and Christians, which sufficiently appears, by their kind behaviour to the Indians, who have scarce ever had any difference with them, and of whom the colony have no sort of apprehensions, tho' they are here much more numerous than in Virginia.

When

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*Europe, have cultivated it so much, that this colony is thought to produce as much as Virginia. The soil is here as fruitful as in any country, being a large plain, and the hills of so easy an ascent, that they appear like an artificial ornament, rather than the accidents of nature. There is no grain, plant, or tree, that grows in Virginia but thrive as well here; the animals, and every thing are the same. It is thought that the number of souls here may be about 30,000. Several hundred sail of ships are annually employed in the commerce between Great Britain and this country, and the benefits which result to this nation from thence are very large,*

When Oliver Cromwell had subverted the constitution of his own country, he framed a project of driving the Spaniards out of Hispaniola, and St. Domingo; in the adjusting this design, he chiefly depended upon the advice he received from one father Gage, a priest, who had resided many years in Spanish America; and this, although the best conceived, was certainly the worst executed of all the protector's enterprizes: however, tho' the expedition proved unsuccessful, as to the conquest intended, yet did it prove the means of subduing the noble island of Jamaica, which is without question the grandest possession we have in those parts. The history of this country since it came into our hands is so well known, and so large and accurate an account given of it by the learned Sir Hans Sloane, that I know not where to find any that may be so well depended upon. It is from him therefore that we learn most of the particulars which follow, and are every way sufficient for our purpose\*.

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*large, as may be easily computed from the account of Virginia, which may likewise serve with respect to all the other colonies, that interfere not with the manufactures of their mother country.*

\* *Jamaica is situated on the Atlantic Ocean, between 17 and 18 degrees north latitude, about 20 leagues east of Hispaniola, and as many south of Cuba. It is 140 miles*



As to the produce of Jamaica, I shall first mention the coçoa, of which there comes more from this than any of our plantations. There is also more indico produced here than in any other colony, by reason of the great quantity of sandy ground in which it thrives best. — Piemento is also another product of this colony, from whence it is called Jamaica pepper. It grows on all the hilly parts of the island, and the tree flowers in June, July and August, according to the

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*miles in length, and about 60 broad in the middle, the form being pretty near oval. The whole island has one continued ridge of mountains running from east to west thro' the middle of it, which are covered with woods; some of the trees are very good timber, tall and strait. The chief ports in the island are Port Royal, Old Harbour, Port Morant, and Point Negril. There are near 100 rivers in this island, but none of them navigable; tho' it is very common to have cascades in them among the mountains 60 feet high. Earthquakes are so common here, that the inhabitants expect one every year. Frost and snow are never seen in this climate; but sometimes hail, and that very large; which beats down every thing before it. The great rainy seasons are in May and October, in which months they are, very violent at new, and full moon, and continue day and night for a whole fortnight, so that the roads are exceeding bad. "In the town of St. Jago de la Vega, in those rainy seasons, says Dr. Sloane, I was forced to ride on horseback from door to door to visit the sick."*

different

different seasons for rain. This fruit being something a-kin both in smell and taste to cloves, cinnamon and pepper, is called allspice, and deservedly fit to come into greater use, and to gain more ground than it has of the Indian spices ; as it promotes digestion, strengthens the stomach, expels wind, and does all those friendly offices to the bowels, which we expect from those — There is plenty of cotton in Jamaica, and it is finer than that in the Caribbee islands. Very good tanned leather is made here ; and in six weeks it is ready to work into shoes. Here are also dyers-wood, as fustic, red-wood, log-wood, and others, with several sorts of sweet wood. The island abounds in drugs and medicinal herbs, as guaiacum, china, safaparilla, cassia, tamerinds, venillo's, many sorts of misselto ; and also in salutary gums and roots : the plant of which cochineal is made grows in Jamaica, and yet the inhabitants, for want of knowledge how to cure it, make no advantage of it.

It is not doubted but that there are copper mines in the island, and the Spaniards say, the bells of the church at St. Jago, were made of Jamaica metal ; it is also supposed here are silver mines in it, for there is a place in the mountains of Port Royal, where it is reported, the Spaniards dug silver, but the English have not been so happy as to find it ; the Spaniards also found  
ambergrease

ambergrease on the coast, of which, some years ago, an ignorant fellow met with 180 lb. weight on the shore. This vast quantity was divided into two parts as was thought by rolling in the sea\*.

But after all, it is the sugar cane that is the glory of Jamaica, and by which the inhabitants have acquired such immense riches; as it exceeds in goodness that of all our plantations. In the year 1670, here were upwards of 60 mills, which were computed to make two millions of pounds of sugar in a year; but some writers tell us, they make ten times as much; and it is certain they have ground enough unoccupied in that country, to make as much more. We may from hence judge of the vast advantages this island affords to Great Britain; notwithstanding all our Histories speak largely of the luxury and expence of all degrees of people there, which is a plain proof of their wealth; so we may rest satisfied,

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\* Some say, this drug is produced from a creature, as honey and silk; and one Mr. Tredway, who viewed this piece, saw, in several places of it, the beak, wings, and part of the body of the creature, which he preserved for some time; he was also told by a man, that he had seen that creature alive, and believed they swarmed as bees, on the sea shore, or in the sea; others say, it is the excrement of the whale; and others, that it issues out of the root of a tree.

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that whatever appearance there may be of magnificence, in that island, yet the real produce of all their commerce comes over to Britain, and enriches the industrious part of our people; hence nothing can be more absurd than to envy the people settled there the great fortunes they acquire, or to repine at the splendor in which they live; but this will appear more clearly, if we advert a little to the situation, and consider the vast benefits which accrue from thence, in times of war, as well as peace\*.

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\* *In time of war there is a considerable naval force kept there, which though it be attended with a great expence to the British nation, yet it ought to be a comfort to us, that such money is spent with our countrymen, and that it encreases the value of their plantation; and, which is more to our purpose, that sooner or later, all the cash that is there circulated, by some channel or other returns hither. We ought likewise to reflect, that, in time of war, there are many prizes taken, and carried into Jamaica, which make an incredible plenty of silver, and cause the high price of necessaries in that country; all which also, in time, comes over hither; so that when we hear of vast estates raised there, it ought to give us great satisfaction, because those who make these large fortunes, or their immediate descendants, come over to England, and either vest the money in our funds, or purchase estates here.—In time of peace, besides what we draw from Jamaica, considered only in the light of a sugar plantation, we are also to remember, whatever accrues to the inhabitants, from their dealings with other people, the gain is ours.*

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We next shall say something of the trade carried on between the English in Jamaica, and the Spaniards on the continent, which is transacted in the following manner. The merchant or master of an English ship, being furnished with a proper cargo, makes first for the coast near the harbour of Porto Bello, both in peace and in war, and enters the Grout within Monkey Key, which is but four miles distant from the town. From thence the said master of the ship sends one, who can speak Spanish, to give notice of his arrival, who appoints the time and place for the Spaniards canoes to attend him; they come accordingly, and chusing what they think fit, return to the town to fetch the money, which they bring on board, and take the goods. Here such a ship sometimes lies five or six weeks; for after the first market is pretty well over, the dealers, who have soon advice of her being on the coast, come from Panama, over the Isthmus, to trade; travelling like peasants, with mules, and carrying their silver in jars: if any of the king's officers meet them, nothing is to be seen but meal, which they pretend to be carrying to Porto Bello; but they commonly travel through by-ways, to escape those officers. The goods they purchase of the English are made up in small parcels, fit for one man to carry; they also supply themselves with as much provisions as will serve

them home, cross the Isthmus of Darien, to the South Sea \*. The plain proof of the great advantage of this trade between Jamaica and New Spain (of which we see the Spaniards are so fond) is such, as tempts them to run as great hazards in buying, as the English do in selling their merchandize. Before we quit this subject, it should seem necessary to take notice of another branch of trade, carried on in Jamaica, which has caused great debates, we mean the cutting of logwood in the bay of Campeachy. This matter came to be considered with great circumspection by the board of trade and plantations in the year 1717, who solemnly reported that we had an undoubted right to that trade, in which the subjects of the crown of England had been supported by former

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\* *A single instance will make all this very plain. An English ship lying between Chagre and Porto Novo, a signal was given from the castle, and she anchored two miles from it. The Spaniards came to her, and one merchant bought 70 negroes, and as many goods as amounted to 4,000 l. which was brought on mules to the water-side, part gold, and part silver. From hence the said ship sailed to the Breco, about eight miles from Carthagena, where the people of the island gave their merchants notice of her arrival; they came and traded as the others did, and, in two months, she disposed of 150 negroes, and a good cargo of dry goods; by which the proprietors cleared at least 2000 l. more than they would have got in any other market.*

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kings. They observed that log-wood is the product of Iucatan, a Peninsula, that extends an hundred leagues into the North Sea, on each side whereof are the bays of Campeachy and Honduras, where this wood is chiefly cut by the English. Now the Spaniards are possessed only of the town of Campeachy, and two other small places in this part of America; the rest of Iucatan being an uninhabited desert, till our logwood-cutters settled at Cape Catock, in the year 1667, when a treaty of peace was concluded between Great Britain and Spain; thereupon the privateers of Jamaica, who used to disturb the Spanish trade, being obliged to quit that way of life, became logwood-cutters, and settled, with others of their countrymen, at Trist, and the lake De Terminos, and at Catock aforesaid, and great quantities of logwood were afterwards imported from thence, both to Old and New England.

They observed also that Sir Thomas Lynch, governor of Jamaica, under whose direction that trade was carried on, in the year 1671, gave his majesty king Charles II. the following reasons for his encouraging it; 1. That the English had used it for several years; 2. that the logwood was cut in desolate places. 3. That it was a right confirmed by a treaty with the Spaniards. 4. That we thereby excluded the French and Dutch from that

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trade.

trade. 5. That the Spaniards had not then made any complaint of it. 6. That this trade reduced the number of our privateers, who used to commit hostilities against the Spaniards; and lastly, that this trade employed 100 sail of ships annually, increased his majesty's customs, and the trade of the nation, more than any of his American colonies. In the following year Sir Thomas Modyford, governor of Jamaica, informed the lords of the privy council, that the English log-wood cutters had used that trade for some years, and that they had planted corn, and built some houses there for their conveniencies; and that they had never seen a single Spaniard, or any other man, in that part of the country all the time they had been there.

The lords commissioners of trade farther observed, that in the American treaty with the Spaniards in 1670, there is a clause which provides, that the king of Great Britain shall keep and possess all places situated in any part of America, which he and his subjects were then in possession of; and that they actually were then, and had been for several years, in possession of Trist, and several other places in the province of Iucatan, which the Spaniards did not pretend to set up any title to till this time. In 1680, the Spaniards proceeded in a hostile manner, to dispossess the English log-wood cutters



ters of their settlements at Trist, and even of the island of Providence, a British plantation, to which they had no pretence; but these were soon repossessed by the English, and the log-wood trade, in 1682, was greater than ever, and peaceably carried on by us, till the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, when it was stipulated, *That only such places should be restored to the Spaniards, as had been taken in that war*: among which Trist could not be reckoned, because the English were in possession of it long before that war began, and indeed from 1699 to 1713, except for three months, when the Spaniards expelled them by force, as aforesaid. They produced also a clause in the treaty of commerce, concluded November, 1713, which says, that the English have long enjoyed the liberty of cutting log-wood, whether thro' right, sufferances or indulgence, they are by this treaty intitled to the same, in as plain and express words as can be imagined. Then the lords commissioners proceeded to shew the importance of the log-wood trade to Great Britain, by laying before the privy council an account of what log-wood had been imported for four years, which could not be computed at less than 60,000*l.* per annum, tho' the price was then reduced from 40*l.* to 16*l.* per ton. We have been the more particular on this head, as the Spaniards are at this time using their utmost endeavours

to drive us out of this settlement and trade, notwithstanding we are in peace with them, and have such an undoubted right thereto. This insult, one would think, should awaken those who are at the helm of our government, and have the management of our marine, to repel force by force, and send a strong squadron thither before it be too late.

We proceed now to the country of Carolina, which is part of that vast region of North America, formerly comprehended under the name of Florida, a name bestowed by John De Leon, in 1512, of whose adventures we have already spoken. He advanced, however, no farther northwards than the river Matheo; and therefore it is plain, that the Spaniards never had a just claim or title to Carolina; tho' it is true, nevertheless, that they imagined De Leon's touching upon this continent gave them a right to it; which notion, if well founded, would give us a much better right, since Sebastian Cabot had been several years before on the northern coast of this very country.

In the year 1622, several English families, flying from the massacres of the Indians in Virginia and New England, settled near the head of the river May, and in the year 1653, Mr. Brigstock, an Englishman, went to Apalachia, where he was honourably entertained by his countrymen, who were there before him; and from his relation of the country,

country, ours is taken as it stands below \*.  
After having giving an account of the time and  
manner

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\* It had been abandoned by the French near 100 years, when king Charles II. made a grant thereof to Edward Clarendon, the lord high chancellor of England, George duke of Albemarle, William lord Craven, John lord Berkley, Anthony lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkley, and Sir John Colliton, from the north end of the island called Luck island, which lies within 36 deg. north latitude, and to the west as far as the South Seas; and southerly as far as the river-St. Matheo, which borders on the coast of Florida; with all royal fisheries, mines, power of life and death, and every thing necessary in an absolute propriety; paying a quit rent of 20 marks a year. These proprietors afterwards obtained a fresh grant, within the bounds of which both the Carolina's and the New Province of Georgia are included. The plan of government for this new colony was struck out by that great statesman Anthony earl of Shaftsbury, and digested into form by the famous Mr. John Lock; but without entering into a long detail upon this subject, we shall only observe, how fair soever it might appear in theory, it was found, by experience, impossible to carry into practice, so that after struggling with the inconveniencies produced by it for 60 years, to the prejudice of the planters and proprietors, the only remedy that could at last be found, was to put the province into the hands of his majesty, which was accordingly done,  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the proprietors receiving 2500 l. each. In consequence of the powers granted to his majesty, by an act of parliament in 1728, intituled an act for establishing an agreement with seven of the lords proprietors of Carolina, for surrender of their title and interest in  
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manner in which we became possessed of this colony, and the means by which its government has been changed since it was settled, we shall now enter into a brief description of the country itself.

Carolina is situated between the extremes of heat and cold, tho' the former is more troublesome in the summer, than the latter in the winter. The air is for the most part serene and clear, and the country is generally healthful when people live regularly, and do not indulge their appetites, in eating fruit and drinking pernicious liquors to excess. It would be endless to enter into a long description of the towns that are erected in it, tho' it may not be amiss to say, that North Carolina is, within these few years, become quite a different country from what it was. The number of people continually increasing; and it is very certain, that this country may be so improved, as to become infinitely more valuable than could be expected. The ground is sandy, but impregnated with nitre, so that it brings forth in abundance; what seems peculiar to this place, are a great number of plantations, that have been cultivated for 70 years, which yet produce great plenty, without ever being manured.

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*that province it will appear by a clause in that act, that the remaining one eighth of the propriety, and the arrears of quit rents aforesaid, were reserved to the right honourable John lord Carteret, now earl of Grenville.*

Silk:

Silk worms in Carolina are hatch'd from the eggs about the middle of March. Black cattle are mightily encreased here since the first settling of the colony. About 40 years ago, it was reckoned a good deal for a person to have three or four cows, but now it is common for some to have 200, and some 1000 head. The trade of this colony is become so considerable, that there have sailed from thence annually above 200 ships, laden with goods of the growth of the country, besides four or five men of war, the least of which has above 100 men on board. They carry on a great trade with the Indians, from whom they get vast quantities of deer skins, and other wild beasts; for which they give only lead, powder, coarse cloth, vermilion, iron, strong waters, and other goods, making considerable profit. The principal town here is Charles town, but artificers are so scarce, that all sorts of work is very dear. Most of their shoes are brought from England, tho' they have hides enough; nor are they destitute of the means to tan them, therefore they want a sufficient number of tanners and shoemakers: we might say the same of leather-dressers, since they send every year to England above 200,000 deer skins undressed. There is not one potter in all the province, nor any earthen ware or glass but what comes from England; notwithstanding they have proper materials for both these purposes, if they had workmen  
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to make use of them. There comes a great deal of pitch from Carolina, and but little tar; whereas there have been formerly many thousand barrels brought from hence, not at all inferior to the best tar from Norway, which was by this means reduced from 3 l. to 15 s. a barrel, with which reduction we seem content to have recourse to the north country tar, and no longer make use of that which comes from our own plantation. We may from these few hints clearly see, that as great as our trade to these colonies is, it might still become much greater: for if we are disposed to apply ourselves heartily to the improvement of this commerce, we have a moral certainty that our endeavours will succeed, and that Great Britain will never feel any sensible decay in trade, while she preserves and cherishes her colonies.

But we pass on to Antego, the climate of which is not to be boasted of, being hotter than Barbadoes, and more subject to hurricanes. This island is divided into five parishes, four of which are towns; of these St. John's town is the capital, and the other parish is called St. Peter. St. John's town consists of an 100 houses, and the number of souls in all this colony are at present no more than 1500. It has greater plenty of cattle, especially venison, than any other of our Caribbee islands; tho' the animals and productions of it are much the same.

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The next colony in America which we are to consider is that of New York, which is ours both by discovery and conquest, being first seen by Sebastian Cabot, and conquered by Sir Robert Carr on St. George's Day, 1664, when the inhabitants submitted to his majesty king Charles I. The country of New York, properly so called, since it became English, is bound by Canada on the north, New England on the east, and the Ocean on the south; the five nations with New Jersey on the west; and is about 200 miles in length from north to south, and might be extended 200 miles farther north, if we possessed all the country we claim, from the mouth of Hudson's river, to that of St. Lawrence, but the French having built forts on the lake Champain, have in a manner expelled us from the north part of this country, the English possessing only the country south of that lake at present, between Connecticut on the east, and New Jersey on the west, which is scarce 20 miles broad; but to this must be added the island Manhattan, upon which the city of New York stands, also Staten island, and Long island; all which lie before the mouth of Hudson's river, and are comprehended in New York proper. \* The New York merchants

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\* *This province is divided into ten countries, which are all pretty well supplied with provisions and farms; but*

chants drive a very advantageous trade with Medeira and the Azores in pipe staves, and fish, for which they load their ships back with wine and Brandy, and generally speaking, there is not a more profitable trade in the British commerce than this, as they take off more of the woollen manufactures of this kingdom, than all the islands put together, Jamaica excepted. — The countries, now called the Jerseys, come next in our way ;

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but have not many great towns in them. *New York city, Westchester and Albany, are the chief ; in all which are ministers, school-masters, or catechists, maintained by the society for the propagation of the gospel ; who have taken laudable care in this respect. New York city stands upon an eminence, contains 1000 houses, built with brick and stone ; as also a wall and forts, which serve as well for ornament as defence, so that there is scarce any town in North America makes a better appearance. South west to the island of New York lies Staten island, being ten miles long, and six broad, in which are many good farms ; but not one town, as we have any account of. Long island lies east of Staten island, and south east of New York, being 150 miles in length, 12 in breadth, and contains three counties, namely, Queen's county, Suffolk county, and Richmond county. There is a celebrated plain in the midst of this island that is 16 miles long, and four broad ; to which they have given the name of Salisbury Plain ; and there being here an excellent breed of horses, they have races every season, to which the gentlemen of New England and New York resort, as they do to Newmarket in Old England.*

which



which fell under the dominion of the crown of Great Britain by conquest, at the same time with the Province of New York; the first Europeans who settled here were the Swedes, who, making but little of their plantation, the Dutch, always industrious for their own advantage, worked them so far out of it, that the northern part of New Jersey was intirely planted by Hollanders, till king Charles II. gave this tract of land to the duke of York, who having vested this province in John lord Berkley, and Sir Charles Carteret, they, or their assigns, agreed to divide it into two parts, called East and West Jersey, which falling into the hands of different proprietors, by many subsequent assignments; it would take up too much room to enter into the detail of it; we shall therefore only take notice, that the proprietors put both of them into the hands of queen Anne, on the 22d of April, 1702, and they have ever since been governed by royal authority. The trade of the two Jerseys, as also the soil and conveniencies of rivers and creeks, are much the same as in the other colonies of North America.

We come next to speak of the settling the Bahama islands; but as these places have not hitherto answered in any proportion to the great expectations that were raised upon the first grant of them, we shall proceed to Providence island, which lies in the center

of several hundred islands, some of them many miles in length, others no bigger than little rocks rising in the water; so that the greatest profit made by the inhabitants of Providence was by the misfortunes of such as were shipwrecked, or such as were driven to the Bahama islands, and put into Providence for provisions. It had the name of Providence given it by captain Sayle, after he had a second time been driven upon it. The first governor that was sent hither was Mr. Chillingworth, in 1672, when several people went from England and the other colonies to settle here, who, living a licentious life, and impatient of government, they seized their governor, and shipped him off to Jamaica, living every man as he thought best for his own pleasure and interest. Thus did this island become the usual retreat and general receptacle for Pirates, till April 1718; when his majesty king George I. appointed captain Woods Rogers governor; sending with him a naval force for subduing the Pirates; who, tho' he did not answer the expectations of those that employ'd him, yet seemed very zealous in the service; and, being joined by a good number of the Pirates, and 114 of their men were sent to him, with notice, that they would all surrender. Accordingly, on the 27th of July, governor Rogers, having with him above 100 soldiers, with this joint force came on shore, took possession

possession of the fort, and caused his majesty's commission to be read before 300 people, whom he found there at his arrival; then set himself to regulate the government, which had been neglected so many years. Of these adventurers, who came with him, twelve were nominated to be of the council, also six of the inhabitants, who had never been Pirates; and thus the face of affairs of this part of the world was intirely changed, the town of Nassau rebuilt, and a regular force established in Providence; so that the country looked again like an English settlement. Within a short time the neighbouring island of Eluthera was settled likewise, upon which 60 families fixed themselves, and erected a small fort for their defence, and raised a company of Malitia, under their deputy governor Mr. Holmes, by whose prudent management the plantation soon grew more considerable. Captain Wood's Rogers, returning to England, was succeeded by captain Fitzwilliams, in whose time an independent company mutined, but was happily suppressed, by his moderation, only a few of the most guilty being made examples\*.

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\* This happened in the year 1736, from which time these islands have been improving but slowly; the reason of which we shall not pretend to account for; but proceed to the next corporation formed for enlarging

our

We come next to describe Pennsylvania, the

our commerce within this period of time. This was the Hudson's bay company, erected by Charles II. on the following occasion. Two Frenchmen, meeting with some savages in a lake near Canada, learnt from them, that they might go by land to the bottom of the bay, where the English had never yet been; and these savages conducted them thither. The two Frenchmen returned the same way they came, and thence to Quebec, where they offered the merchants to carry ships to Hudson's bay, but their project was rejected; then they went to France, in hopes of meeting with better success, by presenting a memorial to the king; but were answered, that their proposal was merely chimerical, Charles the second's ambassador at Paris, hearing of this, imagined he should do good to his country, by engaging them to serve the English, and persuaded them to go to London, where they met with a favourable reception from some men of quality, merchants, and others, who employed Mr. Gillam to perfect this discovery. He sailed in the *Nonsuch* to the height of 75 degrees, then southward to 51 degrees, where he entered a river, to which he gave the name of Prince Rupert, and erected a fortress, which he called Charles fort. On the return of Mr. Gillam, the persons concerned applied to the king for a patent, dated the second of May, 1670, and this was the original of what is called the Hudson's bay company. At the treaty of Utrecht, this company, by the tenth and eleventh articles, have every thing restored to them that had been taken from them, and satisfaction made for all their losses; since which time, the trade of the company has increased treble to what it was at that time, and is still in a flourishing condition, tho' it is natural for such as reap the benefit of any branch of trade, to be as silent about it as possible.

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most flourishing colony we have in North America. When the duke of York took the command of the English fleet in the Dutch war, as lord high admiral, he made choice of Sir William Penn to serve under him; but Sir William did not enjoy this station long, and dying in the West Country, where he was born, was buried at Bristol, having, in reward of his services, a grant of this country from king Charles II. Sir William had a kinsman, who was one of the first planters in New England, from whom his uncle, doubtless, had information of the advantages that might be made of lands and settlements in this continent of America. But young Penn did not apply himself for some years to make the best of this grant, till, at last, finding his friends, the Quakers, persecuted all over England, by spiritual courts, he resolved to put himself at the head of as many as would go with him, and removed to this country, in 1699.

He gave it the name of Pensilvania; but not being satisfied with the title granted him by Charles II. and his brother, he purchased the land of the Indians. Those that went over were chiefly dissenters, from London, Liverpool, and Bristol; and Mr. Penn sold 20,000 acres of his property to Mr. Claypool, Mr. Moor, Mr. Ford, and others, who formed a company, and had two streets

set out for them in Philadelphia, with 400 acres of land in the liberties of that city, where they set up a tannery, a saw mill, a glass house, and a whalery; of the two latter we suppose they never made any use \*.

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\* *The chief rivers in Pensilvania are.* 1. *The river De la War, which runs to the southward, being navigable for 200 miles and upwards.* 2. *Susquabanaugh, which runs south, thro' the middle of Pensilvania, being navigable for large ships.* 3. *The river Schoolkill, which runs south, parallel to the rivers Susquabanaugh and De la War, and falls into the latter, at the city of Philadelphia.* In the county of Buckingham, the chief town is Bristol, situated on the river De la War, in which county lies the maner house of Pensbury, elegantly built by Mr. Penn, which stands on an eminence, and is almost surrounded by the river De la War. The county of Philadelphia is celebrated for the city of that name, being the capital of the province, and one of the finest plans of a town that ever was formed. The town of Oxford is situated also in this county, where a missionary is maintained by the society for the propagation of the gospel. In this county is the city of Radnor, being the capital of a large country planted by the Welch; to the south of the county of Philadelphia lies that of Chester, the capital wherof is of the same name; to the south of Chester lies Chichester. The country of Newcastle lies south of Chester, the capital of which bearing the same name; this is said to be the best trading town in the province, except Philadelphia, and has an iron mine in the neighbourhood. The county of Kent lies

The air here is sweet and clear, the soil exceeding rich, and the water good; with plenty of all sorts of flesh, fish, and grain; we need not therefore wonder, that people should flock in such numbers to a country where there was so fair a prospect of living happily, with moderate industry.

As to the commerce of Pensylvania, this, as well as other northern colonies, has a clandestine trade with the Spaniards of Terra Firma, furnishing them with European goods for dollars. They also trade to the bay of Honduras and Campeachy for logwood.

In the year 1722, the duke of Montague obtained a patent to settle the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent. His grace having appointed captain Uring his deputy governor, and provided seven ships and vessels to carry over the planters, with such necessities as were requisite to settle these colonies, obtained of his majesty the *Winchelsea* man of war, commanded by captain Orme, for a convoy. Captain Uring embarked on board the *Winchelsea*, and, in December following, arrived at St Lucia; and being come to an anchor in Pidgeon island bay, a Barbadoes sloop arrived soon after from Martinico, the

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*lies south of that of Newcastle, the chief town of which is Dover, being a commodious port; the most southern county is Sussex, the chief town whereof is Lewes.*

master,

master whereof communicated to him the copy of a mandate, which he said was published by order of the French king, in all the churches and in all the towns of that island \*. Mr. Uring hereupon sent to captain Brand and captain Brown, commanders of two of his majesty's ships, to know if he might depend upon their assistance, but they would give him no positive answer; so he sailed to Barbadoes, where the president promised to assist him as far as lay in his power; but he first proposed to suspend all acts of hostility, till they could hear from Great Britain and France, that the controversy between the two crowns was there decided. In pursuance of this agreement, Mr. Uring sailed with his people to Antigua, sending the Winchelsea man of war, and the Griffin sloop, to take a view of the island of St. Vincent, to see if it was practicable to attempt a settlement there; who found there was less hopes of fixing a colony here, than at St. Christopher's, then ordered the Griffin sloop to Antigua, to lie there during the hurricane months; where he received a letter from lieutenant general Matthews, advising him, that the duke of Montague had empowered the said general to have the

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\* *The substance of this mandate was as follows; that if the English did not leave the island in 15 days, they were to be expelled by force of arms.*

disposals



disposal of all his affairs in the West Indies, Mr. Uring accordingly deliver'd up his charge to general Matthews's agent, and went to Antigua, from thence to Barbadoes, where he was kindly received by Mr. Worsley; and returned to Antigua, thence to St. Christophers, where he took a passage home. He arrived at Dover, May 1724, and found his grace had laid aside the thoughts of any new settlement, after he had been at the expence of 40,000 l. at least\*.

To complete the history of British America, we proceed to the colony of Georgia, which is not only the last settlement in point of time, but the best also in respect to situa-

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\* Nothing can induce us to suspect the largeness of this sum, but its coming out of a private purse, for the service of the publick. This, indeed, and the time at which the expedition was undertaken, render it almost incredible; but whoever considers, that in seasons of the greatest corruption, as surely that of the South Sea, and the bubbles that attend it, was, there providence usually arises up some extraordinary instances of a contrary spirit; nor shall we be afraid of observing, that there may a proper time come of reviving our claim to those islands, at least to that of St. Lucia, to which our title is unquestionable. The truth is, we want a proper military force in America, and we have often wondered that some way has not been contrived to send our half-pay officers thither, not upon half-pay, but whole, one half from home, and the other to be raised there.

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tion, inasmuch as it extends as far southward as we claim any right to, and fills up intirely the discoveries of the Cabors. His majesty George II. by his letters patent bearing date June 9, 1732, constituted a coporation, by the name of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, with capacity to purchase and take lands, to sue, and be sued, to have a common seal, and to chuse members in the said corporation, on the third Thursday in March, every year, &c.

As soon as they had obtained this extensive charter, they chose 24 noblemen and gentlemen, in quality of trustees. Their first care was to obtain a sufficient fund for sending over a considerable number of people, with all kinds of necessaries; towards which they subscribed liberally themselves, obtained considerable sums by way of collection, and, besides, a grant from the parliament of 10,000 l. They next turned their thoughts to the most proper method of settling these people, when sent over, so as they might be able to live comfortably themselves, and be made in every respect as useful to the publick as possible. They resolved therefore to consider each inhabitant in a double capacity; as a planter, and a soldier, who were to be provided both with arms and tools; they also resolved, that towns should be laid out, and lands allotted each of them, for their maintainance, as near  
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their houses as possible. Accordingly it was agreed, that every portion of land should be granted to them in tail male.

These dispositions made, on the third of October 1733, it was resolved to send over 114 persons, men, women, and children; and James Oglethorpe, esq; one of the trustees, went with them, at his own expence, to settle them. He arrived at Carolina the 5th of January following, and they were received at Charles town, by the governor, with great civility; who ordered the king's pilot to carry the ship into Port Royal, and small vessels to convey the colony from thence to the river Savannah. On the 18th, Mr. Oglethorpe went ashore upon French's island, and left a guard upon John's, being a point of that island, about the mid-way between Beaufort and the river Savannah. They had orders to repair huts for the reception of the people in their passage from thence, while Mr. Oglethorpe went to view the country, and pitched upon a convenient spot of ground, ten miles up the river, on which to build a town. On the 9th of February the town was marked out, and the first house begun. The chief reasons that determined Mr. Oglethorpe to the choice of this place were, health, pleasure, and conveniency. Before his arrival in the country, it had the name of a nation of Indians, who inhabited there, under the command of

of Tomochichi, who entered into a close friendship with him, so much the more agreeable to both parties, as there was no other Indian nation within 50 miles. Mr. Oglethorpe called the name of the new town Savannah.

The people of Carolina were well pleased with this new settlement, as indeed they had reason; as a testimony of which, they contributed largely to the assistance of the new comers: 500 l. of this money was immediately laid out, by Mr. Oglethorpe, here in cattle, who having given other directions for providing at Charles town, what his people might have occasion for, set out on his return for Savannah. Being arrived there, he found that the chief men of the Lower-Creek-Indians, being eight in number, were come thither to treat of an alliance with the new colony. Mr. Oglethorpe received them in one of the new houses; the Indians being seated, a very tall old man stood up, and made a speech to the following purpose: he first claimed all the lands to the southward of the river Savannah, as belonging to the Creek Indians; then said, they were persuaded that the great power, which had given breath to all men, had sent the English thither for the instruction of them, their wives and children; that therefore they gave them up freely their right to all the land they did not use themselves. That this was not only his opinion,  
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but also the opinion of the other eight chiefs, each of whom, having consulted together, had sent some of their chief men with skins, which is their wealth.

After which they agreed with Mr. Oglethorpe on a treaty of alliance and commerce, which was signed by him and them. A laced coat, a laced hat, and a shirt, were given to each king, and to each of the warriors a gun, and a mantle of duffil, and to all their attendants coarse cloth for cloathing \*. As soon as the treaty was concluded,  
Mr.

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\* *This agreement consisted of the following articles.*

1. *The trustees agreed to let their people carry into the Indian towns all sorts of goods, fitting to trade, at rates and prizes settled by the treaty.* 2. *Restitution and reparation to be made for injuries on both sides, and criminals to be tried and punished, accordingly to the English law.* 3. *Trade to be drawn from any English town offending against treaty.* 4. *The English to possess all lands not used by the Indians, provided, that upon settling every new town, the English should set out for the use of their nation, such lands, as should be agreed on, between the English beloved men, and the head men of their nation.* 5. *To restore all run-away negroes, and carry them either to Charles town, the Savannah; or Petachuchula garrison, upon being paid for every such negro four blankets, or two guns, or the value thereof in other goods, if taken on the other side Ocorivy river; and one blanket if the negro is killed in taking, or endeavouring to make his escape. Lastly, they promise, with strait hearts and love to their brother English, to give no en-*

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couragement

Mr. Oglethorpe set out for England, where he arrived in June 1734, bringing with him Tomochichi, king of the Yamacraws, a nation of the Creek Indians, Senawki, his Consort, and Toonakowi, the prince, his nephew, as also Hillispilli, a war captain, and five other chiefs, with an interpreter. They were lodged at the Georgia coffee-house, Old Palace Yard, where they were handsomely entertained, and being neatly attired, were introduced to the court, then at Kensington. Tomochichi presented to the king several eagles feathers, which, according to their custom, is the most respectful things he could offer, and then made the following speech \*. These Indians, but more especially

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*couragement to any other white people to settle there : and to all this they set the marks of their families.*

*\* This day I see the majesty of your face, and the greatness of your house, and the number of your people ; I am come for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace they made long ago with the English. I am come over in my old days, tho' I cannot live to see any advantage to myself ; I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the Upper and Lower Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English. These are the feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and who flieth all round our nations. These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and we have brought them over to leave them with you, O ! great king, as a sign of everlasting peace.*

ly the prince, gave evident marks of good sense, and of a sincere inclination to carry on a friendly correspondence between their own nation and ours, and therefore they desired of the trustees, that the measures, prices, and quantities of goods that were to be purchased by them might be settled, as also the weight, that nobody might be allowed to trade with the Indians in Georgia, without a licence from them; in order, that, if they were in any respect defrauded by the trustees, they might know where to complain, &c. In compliance with this request of theirs, the trustees prepared a law, intituled "an act for maintaining the peace with the Indians in the province of Georgia." They also procured two subsequent acts, the first intituled "an act to prevent the importation and use of rum and brandy in the province of Georgia, or any kind of spirits, or strong waters whatsoever." They likewise prepared a third law, intituled, "an act for rendring the colony of Georgia more defensible by prohibiting the importation of black slaves or negros, in the same." These three acts were laid before the king and council, and passed in January following. In the

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*peace. O! great king, whatever words you shall say unto me, I will tell them faithfully to all the Creek nations. To which his majesty made a gracious answer, assuring those nations of his protection and regard.*

beginning of the year 1735, the trustees were encouraged by an extraordinary supply of 26,000 l. granted by parliament, and very considerable benefactions as well in Carolina, as in England, to think of making farther embarkations for strengthening the southern part of Georgia, and it was resolved that these embarkations should consist mostly of people from the north of Scotland, and persecuted German protestants.

When these people arrived in Georgia, they were settled on the Alatamaka-river, about 16 miles from the island of St. Simon, where they soon built a town, that at their own request was called Darien, which name that district still retains; but the town which they afterwards built, they called New Inverness. The same year the great embarkation under the direction of Mr. Oglethorpe arrived, and when the people were settled upon the island of St. Simon, the Creek Indians came down, in consequence of their claiming their right to the country, and agreed that the English should possess that, and all the islands adjacent; whereupon the town of Frederica was soon after built. As soon as this settlement was made, care was taken for its security, with which view, a regular fortress, strengthened by four bastions and spur-work was erected at Frederica; and several pieces of cannon mounted thereon; a battery was also raised:



raised for the protection of Jekyll Sound, where ten or twelve 40 gun ships may safely ride: another fort was built on Cumberland island, where are several pieces of cannon pointed towards the river.

The lieutenant governor of South Carolina, having received intelligence of preparation made by the Spaniards at St. Augustine, and the Havannah, in order to attack the colony of Georgia; and the trustees having presented a memorial to his majesty, setting forth the inability of the colony to protect themselves against such a force; his majesty was pleased to order a regiment of 600 men to be raised and sent hither immediately; and the parliament granted thereupon the sum of 20,000 l. for the further settling and securing the colony, and the trustees made another embarkation of persecuted German protestants. In consequence of so considerable an augmentation of people, all the towns laid out in Georgia began to be improved; and in the year 1738, the trustees sent over the reverend Mr. Norris to Frederica, with a salary of 50 l. a year; and orders that a house should be built for him, and another provided for the performance of divine worship, till a church could be erected.

The French, who, by degrees grew more and more uneasy at the settlement of Georgia, and our intercourse with the Indians, began to make use of every method, to

create differences and jealousies between us and the Creeks, which alarmed the whole province of Carolina, as well as the people settled in Georgia. Upon this Mr. Oglethorpe thought it necessary to enter into a close alliance with this nation, and therefore resolved upon a journey to Coweta town, tho' 500 miles distant; and thro' a country very little known, and very difficult for Europeans to travel.

He provided himself with horses, and presents, and set out for that place, which he reached in safety, where he was received by the Indians with all imaginable respect. Here he had an opportunity of conferring, not only with the chiefs of all the tribes of this nation, but also with the deputies of the Choctaws, and Chickesaws, who lie between the English and French settlements, and who had sent their deputies thither with that view. The consequence of this meeting, was, the making a new treaty with the Lower Creeks, which was of so great importance, that colonel Bull, then governor of Carolina, declared, that if the Creeks could be secured, they should be under no apprehensions from the intrigues of the French with the other nations. This was effectually done, as is evident from the proceedings of the assembled estates of all the Lower Creek nations, held on Saturday August the 11th, 1739, which struck the French with such amazement,

ment, that some of their governors of Canada, made considerable journies from Quebec to confer with the Indians, and conclude treaties with them also ; but they never made these excursions, but at the head of a considerable body of regular troops.

For indeed this new treaty with the Creeks defeated all the measures they had been taking, and connected that nation more close with the English : nor was this all, for of all the nations that bordered upon them, they are most afraid of the Chickesaws, whom they looked on as the bravest race of Indians in America. They were also in great fear of the Choctaws, a very numerous nation, able at any time to disturb their settlements. But it soon appeared by experience, that this new treaty operated successfully ; since the governor of New York, having given information to colonel Bull, at Carolina, of the march of a body of French troops, and Indians, from Quebec, with intent to attack the Indians in friendship with England ; which tho' it alarmed the people at Carolina and Georgia, there followed nothing from it ; for the French, finding the Indians prepared to receive them, desisted from their design ; fearing it should produce a general war, which might prove fatal to their colonies on the Mississippi river.

The great advantage proposed in settling this new colony, where it is settled, was, the securing the nations of Indians, which

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inhabited

inhabited the vast countries to the south, and south west of Georgia, in the British interest. A thing so much the more necessary considering the views the French had of the same kind; and the maintaining of our friendship with them, must necessarily interrupt the correspondence between the French colonies of Canada, and Louvifiana, upon which their being formidable to us in North America absolutely depends: since if ever they gain those Indians over to their party, every child that can comprehend a map, will see that they will surround all our colonies on the main \*. Their present behaviour

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\* *To have settled about this time the limits between Great Britain and France, in this part of North America, might, in all probability, have averted the storm, now more than threatening devastation to these colonies. We should not have heard of so many complaints from Virginia; and the vast expence, which now inevitably must redress these grievances, might have been saved by a few grains of resolution in doing ourselves justice. It is nonsense to mention the negotiation on the carpet above a year ago, between the English and French, as also that depending, I may say, ever since the general peace, to facilitate for us the commerce and navigation in the West Indies. The present insults of the French upon our American colonies have all the appearance of a prologue to the tragedy of war: if so, it cannot be too soon for us to get the scenes and machinery ready; and perfect ourselves in our parts, least we should be hissed at by all Europe.*

Behaviour to our new settlements in Nova Scotia is notorious, and likewise in our settlements in the East Indies, and tho' they may

Europe, and finally beat off the stage. The French, who are all vivacity and dispatch, have ever availed themselves of the English Oscitancy; and one of their officers not long ago told major Washington, that it was their absolute design, to take possession of the Ohio, and swore they would do it; for tho' the English, they were sensible, could raise two men to their one; yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs. Thus do they laugh in our faces, while they cut our throats; and have the British name in derision, at which their fathers used to tremble. They seem to have forgot the sounds of Edward, and of Cressie, of Henry and Agincourt; at which place, when they were at least six to one, a valiant officer, instead of being intimidated at their numbers, bravely observed, that there were enough to be killed, enough to be prisoners, and enough to run away. But if these historical facts are of too ancient a date for their recollection, one would think they might very well remember Marlborough and Blenheim, and the immortal Æra 1704. In short (we are ashamed to own it) but of late years we have been scandalously outwitted by the French. — They have too much activity, too much policy, too much œconomy, for us to cope withal. Those who have examined (says a certain political writer) the trade and commerce of France, have wondered that it should be able to maintain such vast forces: but great things may be done with small revenues, and good management. In France there are not perhaps one fifth of civil offices as in some other countries; their salaries are small, nor is the pick-pocket term perquisite so much as known amongst them.

may be censured with their levity, they have an amazing uniformity of conduct in lucrative and ambitious designs. There is one part of their policy, however, truly ad-

*them. If a man should be intrusted to make some contract for bay and corn, or any thing else, to the value of 6 or 7000 louis d'ors; was he to cheat the public of 1000, he would be heard of no more, except at the gallows. All the nobility of France, serve in the troops; a man of the first quality is at the head of almost every regiment. But these regiments are not given for doing the dirty work of some low fellow, that fortune has wantonly erected into a minister. Their colonels do not fill their pockets with the public money, nor under the name of perquisite cheat the poor soldiers in their coats, shoes, shirts, and hats: no, they are not concerned with the cloathing, their pay is next to nothing; and by keeping public tables, they half maintain the subaltern officers, who have still smaller pay. This is the reason why such great things are done in that country with very little public money. Those things considered, no wonder if some other nations, where every thing is managed by bribery and corruption, should raise twice as much upon the subjects, and yet not be able to spare half so much for their just defence. At home the French exceed us in numbers, in the Indies what they want in numbers, they make ample amends for, in vigilance and activity; to which they add a great quantity of stratagem, treachery, cruelty, and injustice. The cultivation and improvement of their colonies seems at this time to be the object of their attention more than ever, and not only the cultivation and improvement, but the EXTENSION of them also, which they are now carrying on with astonishing impudence and intrepidity; equally to our cost and shame.*  
mirable

mirable and worthy the imitation of their neighbours, that is, they never sell, nor corrupt *one another*; no, they know how to lay out their bribes to more advantage. They buy off enemies, and purchase friends; at which work they have been of late extremely industrious in Virginia, where they corrupt the Indians, our friends, not only with their money, but with their wine also; and an efficacious method of corrupting it is! when a man is to be made a tool and a rascal of, first to deprive him of his understanding.

The Cherokees possessed the mountainous country, westward to the river Mississippi, as the Chickesaws do the plains to the south west; both brave and numerous nations, and very fond of liberty; in which it is our interest to support and maintain them, against the French; who are now bribing them in their favour, and have succeeded too well, as is evident by the note preceding.

We are now come to the very last article of the history of Georgia. It was certainly originally designed by the trustees, that silk should be the staple commodity of this country, which is so happily situated, that its soil and climate, render it very fit for producing this rich branch of commerce, and which some very good judges have affirmed, to be much more considerable than either  
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the linen or woollen manufacture. With a view to this, proper persons have been sent thither, the experiment has been tried, silk made in Georgia has been sent over, and Sir Thomas Lombe, with other excellent judges of the commodity, have declared, that it is in all respects as good, and works rather better than any Piedmont silk; which stands us in 20s. a pound; the soil of Georgia being extremely proper for the mulberry tree.

A letter has been received from the reverend minister of Ebenezer, by which it plainly appears, that silk may be produced here in the greatest perfection, and with little difficulty; provided the people had proper encouragement; even such as the grand monarch affords to the neighbouring colonies. All beginnings are hard, and these people, in undertaking this work, are beginning two things at the same time, namely, to raise silk, and to raise subsistence; and it is very plain that the former must give way to the latter. It is natural for people to wish to live well, but it is necessary they should live some way or other; and therefore this poor clergyman honestly tells us, that, tho' his people are got into a way of winding the silk off the cocones, and that they would apply themselves more diligently to this business, if they were not called off to get wherewithal to live upon. If therefore we  
really



really mean to promote the raising of silk in general, and aim, instead of curiosity, to make it a commodity, we need only to declare a bounty upon it. This would encourage every body in Georgia to turn their hands to that work, women and children as well as men would not be wanted herein; for it is no such hard labour, as to render slaves necessary\*.

## CHAP.

\* *What this might produce, we may in some measure guess, from what the culture of silk affords in Italy; where 4 or 5 l. an acre are common prices for lands that bare mulberry trees; where the leaves are sold at a great rate, and where the poor people willingly give their time and labour, in feeding and attending the worms for half the price of the silk; which is divided, between the labourer and the landholder, amounting commonly to between three and four pounds a tree. If once this business was effectually set a going, there is no doubt, but the progress would soon answer the end of the trustees, and the bounty paid for a few years, would most effectually establish both commodity and colony. Thus we see that the design of raising silk in Georgia, is in itself a matter of vast moment; not only to the trustees and inhabitants of that new colony, but to that of the whole nation. A thing, that would give a new turn to our trade, employ a multitude of hands at home, enlarge our commerce abroad, increase our shipping, augment the number of our seamen, and enable us the better to bear those vast expences, in which it is said, we have necessarily plunged ourselves by the circumstances of our affairs abroad. One thing more we must observe before we conclude this.*

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chapter

## C H A P. X.

*A brief history of the discoveries, settlements, and conquests made by the French in America, extracted chiefly from their own authors.*

**I**N April 1534, James Cartier sailed from the port of St. Malo's, with two ships of 60 tons each, and 120 men. He arrived on the 10th of May following on the coast of Newfoundland; and finding the country covered with ice and snow, sailed to the southward, and entered into a bay which bears at present the name of Spanish Harbour, where he went on shore. It is reported, that the Spaniards had long before discovered this coast, but were in a hurry to go off again, crying out in their language, Aca Nada, that is, there is nothing here; which words the Indians remembring, when the French came on shore, cried out also Aca Nada, Aca Nada! which the French took for the name of the country, so that it has ever since been called Canada. This is

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*chapter; which is, that if there is any thing in it, that ought in a particular manner to claim the attention of the public, it is in a great measure due to the lights afforded by the honourable James Oglethorpe, esq; from whom, if we have caught any part of that generous spirit, which inclines a man to bend all his thoughts to the service of the public, 'tis but just we should acknowledge it.*

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a strange derivation; but as we find it in the best French authors, it may be worth remarking. He afterwards discovered a good part of the Gulph of St. Laurence, and of the islands that are situated therein; then resolved to return to France, he and his men being greatly afflicted with the scurvy, of which 25 died; but first he enquired of the inhabitants, if they knew any cure for this distemper; they answered in the affirmative, and taught him to make an infusion of the leaves and bark of the white thorn, by which they were all recovered.

Three or four years after the project of settling in this country began to be talked of, and a gentleman of Picardy undertook to accomplish this design; to qualify him for which trust, Francis I. king of France, by letters patent dated January 15, 1540, granted him a number of fine titles, such as viceroy, and lieutenant general in Canada, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Bellisle, Cape Breton, Labrador, &c. giving him the same power in those places that he had himself, which was very easily done, since there was not a Frenchman, or a cottage in any one of the places; nor had he any more title to them than to lands in the Moon. However this gentleman, having a good estate, resolved to pursue this expedition, and prevailed on James Cartier aforesaid, to undertake ano-

ther voyage to Canada, in quality of his pilot.

It was this person that first fixed some French settlements in America, which however were afterwards abandoned. After this, the navigation of the river of St. Laurence fell into different hands, and several voyages were made thither to very little purpose. In 1608, they laid the foundation of the city of Quebec, and some time after Champlain bestowed the name of New France upon this country; but then, he took in likewise Nova Scotia, and other coasts, that had long before been discovered by us\*. In 1629, the English under the command of Sir David Kerk following them to Canada, as looking upon it to be within the limits.

\* *The French, according to a maxim natural enough with them, thought every country they had not seen before, unknown to all the rest of the world, and so set up crosses and the arms of France, to shew that they had taken possession of them. It must be observed, that most of these expeditions where made in the reign of James the first, when the English colonies were but thin, and far enough from being strong, and yet his subjects asserted their rights to those places of which the French had taken possession, demolished their crosses, drove away the people where they were found, and forced them to confine their views to the gulph and river of St. Laurence, where, with much difficulty, in the space of 20 years, they raised three or four settlements, of which Quebec was, and is still the chief.*

of

of the English dominions, and made himself master of Quebec, with three ships only, the largest of which was of 100 tons, the other two of 10 tons, the former having but 12 guns six-pounders, the two latter, only 10, four-pounders. When this news arrived in France; that new-discovered country was looked upon as nothing, and it was long debated in the French councils, whether they should demand the restitution of it; at last they resolved, that it should be demanded, and accordingly it was restored by the treaty of 1632. Mr. Champlain was the first governor, after it fell into the hands of the French; and from this time forwards they pursued their discoveries and settlements in those parts, without molestation from us; but still met with great difficulties.

The reason of the aforesaid difficulties are very easily found; for with respect to France itself, tho' it be a very large country, yet is it the inhabitants only of its coasts, that are inclined to naval expeditions, or indeed are capable of them. In the next place, the climate of Canada, is very far from being agreeable to French constitutions; so that of numbers of people sent thither, a great part perished by the hardships they endured, and some returned home, giving so dreadful an account of the colony they had left, as discouraged others from embarking thither; and this gave that government such

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a bad opinion of the enterprize, as did no great honour to the particular persons therein concerned.

In the beginning of the year 1690, Sir William Phipps sailed from New England, and in the May following he arrived before Port Royal. The French had then a flourishing colony in Acadia, or what is now called Nova Scotia, consisting of no less than 6000 people, who got a livelihood by their trade in lumber, fish, and skins; but for all this, the place was so miserably provided for defence, that it was soon reduced, and Sir William had the honour of recovering this country to the crown of Great Britain. The people of Nova Scotia had leave, either to retire to Canada, or remain in the country, and about 2000 chose the latter; so that Sir William not only acquired a country, but a people, and this too with a very small force, his largest ship being but 300 tons, and mounting 12 pounders. To revenge these losses, Mr. Artel, with one Hoophood, a leader among the Huron Indians, assaulted Salmon Falls, killed 30 persons, and carried 50 into captivity, which terribly alarmed all New England; being the first time the French had acted openly against the Barbarians; and as Quebec was thought to be the cause of all their calamities in this war, it was therefore resolved to attack that place, which being reduced, the  
French

French would have no city to rest in, and to carry on their ill designs against their Christian neighbours.

The success Sir William Phipps so lately had, gained him the chief command in this expedition; but it seems to have been ill managed, for it is certain he had a strength with him sufficient to have driven the French out of Canada, had it been well used; he had 32 sail of ships, and 2000 men on board, and with this fleet he sailed from Hull, August 9, 1691, but came not within sight of Quebec till the fifth of October. Thus they were eight weeks in a voyage which has been done in three. The English were so long making up the river of St. Laurence, that the French governor had time enough to prepare for his defence, by drawing all the strength of the colony to Quebec, which Sir William expected would have been divided, by his army's marching over land to attack Mount Royal Fort, on the frontiers of Canada, while he fell upon the capital.

This army was to consist of 2000 English, and 1500 Indians, to whom the French gave the name of Iroquois. The English marched as far as to the great Lake of Canada; but as there were no canoes provided for them to pass it, they returned.

When Sir William arrived within sight of the place, he imagined the conquest of it would have been as easy as that he had made  
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of Nova Scotia, and therefore he drew up a paper, by way of a summons, requiring them to surrender, conceived in very rough terms; for Sir William was originally a carpenter, and afterwards a sailor, so that he was very blunt, tho' a very honest and brave man: but the French governor, was so offended at the stile and purport of his letter, that he ordered a gibbet to be erected, and would have hanged the major that brought it, had not the bishop interposed. He returned however, an insolent answer; calling Phipps and his company heretics and traitors. On the 8th of October, the English landed, to the number of 1500, which being much inferior to the enemy, general Whalley re-embarked his troops, tho' they would very fain have attempted one assault. Thus, say the French, Quebec was delivered, and tho' the scheme to take it was well enough laid by the English, those who undertook to execute it had not capacities suitable to such a design.

Of all the French writers, who have taken upon them to describe the Indians with whom they conversed, the most worthy of credit that we have met with is Mr. Joutel, who accompanied the famous mons. de Sale in his discoveries on the Mississippi; and speaks of the inhabitants there thus. Allowing, says he, that some Barbarians are less brutal than others, yet there are none good. There is no relying on them; there is al-  
ways.



ways cause to suspect them, and before a savage can be made a christian, it is requisite to make him a man. They have neither king, nor laws, and, what is most deplorable, no God.

The same traveller, speaking of an interview he had with the chiefs of another nation westward of the Mississippi, says, their elders came to meet us in their formalities, which consisted of some goat-skins dressed and painted of different colours; which they wore on their shoulders, like belts; and on their heads they had plumes of feathers of various colours, like coronets. Six or seven of them had square sword blades, to the hilts of which were fastened hawk's bells, and great plumes of feathers, some of them had clubs, some bows and arrows, others pieces of white linnen, reaching from shoulder to shoulder: all their faces were daubed with black and red: there were twelve elders who walked in the middle, and the youth and the warriors in ranks, on the right and the left of the old men. Being come up to us in that manner, our conductor made a sign for us to halt, which done, all the old men lifted their hands over their heads, crying in a most ridiculous manner. After this they came and embraced us. They then conducted us to their chief's cottage, which we found furnished with mats for us to sit on. The elders seated themselves round  
about

about it, and brought us to eat some sagamite, which is their pottage, little beans, and bread, made of Indian corn, and at last made us smoke. Their cottages are round at the top, after the manner of a beehive, some of which are six feet diameter. In order to build them, they set up long poles as thick as a man's leg, which being placed in a circle, they join the tops together, and cover them with weeds. When they remove their dwelling, they generally burn their cottages, and build new ones where they intend to inhabit. Their moveables are, some buffaloe's hides well dressed, some mats close woven, wherewith they adorn their houses; some earthen vessels, which they are very skilful in making, and wherein they boil their flesh, roots, and pottage. Their beds are made of canes, raised two or three feet above the ground, handsomely fitted, with mats and bullocks hides, which serve them instead of feather-beds, quilts and blankets: these beds are parted from one another by mats hung up.

Their tillage consists in breaking up just the surface of the earth with a wooden instrument, like a pick-axe. This instrument also serves them for a hoe and spade, they having no iron tools. When the land is thus broken up, the women sow and plant the Indian corn, beans, pompions, water-melons, and other grain and garden stuff. The

The Indians are generally handsome, but disfigure themselves by making streaks on their jaws, from the top of the forehead to the tip of the chin, which is done by pricking the skin till it bleeds, and then strewing fine charcoal on it, that sinks in, and mixes with the blood. They also, after the same manner, make the figures of living creatures, of leaves and flowers, on their shoulders, thighs, and other parts of their bodies. The women are generally well shaped, and would be handsome enough did they not guise themselves as ridiculously as the men. I did not observe that they were naturally given to lewdness; but their virtue is not proof against a string of beads, because they have no religion, or law, to prohibit that practice. These are called the Iroquois: but there is another nation called the Illionois, of whom Mr. Joutel has given us the following account.

As for the manners and customs of the Illionois, says he, they are, in many particulars, correspondent with those of the fore-mentioned nation. They are naturally fierce and revengeful, and among them the toil of sowing, planting, carrying of burdens, and doing all other things, which tend to the support of life, appertains peculiarly to the women, the men having no other business than going to war, and hunting. These people are addicted to thieving, which is not  
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so much in fashion among the Iroquois; and every man ought to watch their feet as well as their hands, they knowing how to put every thing aside very dexterously. They pay a respect to the dead, as appears by their care in burying, for when any of them die, they wrap them up in skins, then put them into coffins made of the bark of trees, and sing and dance about them twenty-four hours; these dancers tying gourds about their bodies, with some Indian wheat in them to make a noise, and some of them have a drum, made of a great earthen pot, on which they extend a goat-skin, and beat on it with a stick. During this rejoicing, they throw their presents on the coffin, and, with strings of beads, encourage the singers to perform well. If any friend happens to come thither at that time, he makes his presents, and falls to singing and dancing like the rest. When the ceremony is over, they bury the body, with part of the presents. They also bury with it some Indian wheat, with a pot to boil it in, and repeat the same at the year's end.

The Illionois are well shaped, and very dexterous with their arrows and small guns, and by having a commerce with the Europeans, they are formidable to the western nations, who have no arms. They are altogether ignorant of iron tools, their knives, axes, and other instruments, being made of flint.

flint. The captains of the Illinois are distinguished by red scarfs, made with the hair of bears, or wild oxen, and curiously wrought.

Their cabbins are very large, and made and paved with rush mats. Their dishes are made of wood, but their spoons of the bones of wild oxen. They have physicians among them, to whom they are very liberal, when they are sick, thinking the operation of the remedy, is proportionable to the presents they make them.

They wear no other clothes than the skins of beasts, which serve to cover their women; but the men go naked. I dont know, says our author, by what superstition some of the Illinois wear womens apparel; but when they have taken the same, they never leave it off. There must certainly be some mystery in this custom; for these never marry, but work with the women, which the other men think a disgrace. They assist at all the superstitions of their jugglers, and their solemn dances, in honour of the calumet, at which they may sing; but it is not lawful for them to dance. They are called to their councils, and nothing is determined without them; for because of their extraordinary way of life, they are looked upon as extraordinary genii.

The calumet is the most extraordinary thing in the world. The scepters of our  
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kings are not so much respected. The savages have such a veneration for this pipe, that it may be called the God of Peace and War, and the arbiter of life and death. One, with this calumet, may venture among his enemies; and in the hottest engagement, they will throw down their arms before this sacred pipe. The Illinois presented me with one of them, says Mr. Joutel, which was of great service to us in our voyage. It is made of red stone, like our marble: the head is like our common tobacco-pipes, but larger, and is fixed to a hollow reed for smoking. They adorn it with fine feathers of various colours, and call it the calumet of the sun. They dare not wash themselves in rivers in the beginning of the summer, or taste the new fruit of trees, without they have danced before the calumet, which is a solemn ceremony among the savages, and which they perform upon all important occasions. They perform it in winter in their cabbins, and in summer in the fields. Every one has his peculiar god, whom they call Manitoa; it is sometimes a stone, a bird, a serpent, or any thing else they dream of, and they think this Manitoa will prosper all their undertakings. To the right of the Manitoa, they place the calumet, their great deity, round which they raise a kind of trophy, of arms, clubs, axes, bows, quivers and arrows. Things thus disposed, and  
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the hour of dancing coming on, those who are to sing take the most honourable places under the trees, for which service they chuse the greatest wits they have among them, either men or women. Then every body sits down as they come, having first saluted the Manitoa, which is done by blowing the smoak of their tobacco upon it. Then every one takes the calumet in his two hands, and dances with it, following the cadence of the songs. The prelude being over, he who is to begin the dance stands in the middle of the assembly, takes the calumet, and presents it to the sun, moving it into an infinite number of postures; he then presents it to the spectators, who smoke with it one after another, dancing all the while. Here ends the first scene. The second is a fight, with vocal and instrumental music; for they have a kind of drum, which agrees well enough with their voices; the person who dances with the calumet gives a sign to one of the warriors, who takes a bow and arrows, with an air from the trophies, and fights the other, who defends himself with the calumet alone, both dancing all the while. The fight being over, he who holds the calumet makes a speech, wherein he gives an account of his exploits, and then receives a present from the chief of the assembly. Then he gives the calumet to another, and thus it is handed round to all,

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till it comes to the captain, who presents it to the nation invited to the feast, as a mark of their friendship. I cannot, says our author, pretend to be so much master of their songs; but methinks they are both witty and lively.

The French writers tell us, that the country of Canada is half as big as Europe, reaching from the Lake of Errie to the north of Hudson's bay, and from the river Mississippi to that part of the continent which fronts Cape Race in Newfoundland. This we must confess is a very noble plan of New France, if it were in the possession of the subjects of that crown; but the truth is, of this vast tract, a great part is not so much as known to them, nor is there a 20th part of the country which can properly be said to be under their jurisdiction. The great river of St. Laurence flows from the Lake of Frontinac, and from thence runs a course of 200 leagues into the sea. At the mouth of this river lies the island of Anticosty, which all agree was formed, at least very much enlarged, by an earthquake. The French have a small settlement here, for the conveniency of trading with the Indian nations. The city of Quebec lies upon the great river of St. Laurence, and is about 110 leagues from the sea. It must be allowed to be both a strong and large town; for besides a citadel, in which the governor resides,



resides, the whole is covered by a regular fortification, and well furnished with artillery. Here is a cathedral, and a bishop's palace, with very stately structures. The Jesuits have a fine college here, and there are several other religious houses; but after all this, if we consider that Quebec is not only the capital, but almost the only town of New France, it is no great affair, since according to the last account the French themselves have published of it, here are no more than about 7000 souls, and none of these are reputed to be very rich.

From Quebec to Montreal the banks of the river are pretty well settled, but without either towns or villages. The town of Montreal is strong by situation, but only surrounded with a pallisado, and is looked upon to have about a third as many inhabitants as Quebec. The savages come down thither in boats, and sell their skins, for the sake of which trade the town was erected; but this commerce is not now of any great consequence\*. Chambli was formerly as  
great

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\* *The manner in which this trade was carried on is singular enough. When the savages who are in amity with the French came thither to trade, their chief demands audience of the governor general, to which he is with great ceremony admitted. This audience is given in a great square in the middle of the*  
N n 3 *town*

great a place of trade as Montreal, but now the French have only a port here, to hinder the natives and their own people from trading with the English. They have besides three other towns, none of them of any great size ; and yet, according to their computation, there are 200,000 souls in Canada ; but, perhaps, this is pretty largely reckoned, though their regular troops and militia amount to 10,000 ; and this renders them formidable both to the English colonies, and the Indians. They some time ago talked of extending a chain of fortifications from their advanced settlements to the river Mis-

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town, where a chair of state is placed for the governor, and the several Indian nations take their places round him with pipes in their mouths. After due silence, the oldest chief of the Indians lays down his pipe, and tells the governor, " that his brethren are come to visit him, and have brought down with them good quantities of skins and furs ; that they know how much these things are esteemed in France, and what they take in exchange are only trifles of little value, but however, that their good friends the French may not be without furs, they are content to deal with them for guns, powder, and ball, on reasonable terms." At the close of his speech he lays a string of beads, and a packet of skins at the governor's feet, and desires " that he will secure them a free trade, and protect them from thieves." Then retires to his place, and resumes his pipe. The governor speaks next, assures them of his protection, and makes a present in his turn.

Mississippi ;

Missippi; but whoever considers the extent of that country and compares it with their force, will plainly see that this is impracticable. But this, however, is no reason that we should grow careless and negligent, for we now find they are extending themselves as far as they can, and therefore it is our business to interrupt their designs, as much as lies in our power. For it evidently appears, not only from major Washington's account, published some time ago, but by all our present dispatches, received from the governors of our colonies in North America, and particularly from Virginia, that since the said major's defeat, all the forces they can possibly raise there will not be able to drive the French from their new settlement on the back of that colony, unless they are assisted with two or three regiments of regular troops: and by some late advices from Philadelphia, we are informed, that since the defeat of the forces under colonel Washington, the French have set about erecting more forts on the river Ohio, and that our colonies are afraid they will advance further upon them, as soon as those works are completed.

Tho' this country of Canada is situated in the midst of the North Temperate Zone, yet is the air of it excessively sharp. It is not very difficult to assign the causes of this cold, if we consider that the winds which blow

blow from Hudson's bay, and from the ocean, that is, from at least half the points of the compass, pass over vast quantities of snow and ice, and are consequently fraught with vast quantities of nitrous particles, which is one cause of their rigorous seasons. A second cause of cold is, the vast forests with which this country abounds. A third cause of cold is, the too great quantity of water : the exhalations from those vast lakes and rivers, which are found in this country, occasion fogs, mists, and rains, which are certainly prejudicial. But, notwithstanding these inconveniencies, the French very much boast of the fertility of this country.

Their trees and fruits are much the same here as in New England, and the same may be said of the animals. The people of Canada, as the French writers tell us, live very much at their ease, and exercise a kind of hospitality. The produce of the colony consists of furs, especially castors, and several sorts of skins, which they purchase of the Indians ; also of some drugs, planks, pipe-staves, and other lumber. The Normans were the first who ingrossed the trade of Canada, and for many years there were no ships seen in the river of St. Laurence ; but from Rouen, Dieppe, and Havre du Grace. The trade then fell into the hands of the inhabitants of St. Malo's, and Nantes, and now it is become, in a great measure,

ture, the property of the people of Rochelle, except a few ships that are sent from Bourdeaux and Bayonne, which are freighted with wines, brandies, and all sorts of iron and steel wares.

While the French were in possession of Nova Scotia, they raised that colony to a very great perfection, and by their present incroachments on the back of our colonies, if timely assistance be not sent over to stop the progress of these insolent invaders, they are not unlikely to do the same at Canada. The loss the French sustained, by the cessions made to us in the treaty of Utrecht, and the true state of their affairs, as well as ours, in this part of the world, will best appear from the following account of father Charlevoix, who is beyond all comparison the most accurate writer on this subject; as he knew the most, and has shewn the greatest sincerity in what he knew.

By the cession of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, and Placentia (says the abovementioned jesuit) to the English, there remained no other place to carry on the fishery of cod-fish, or at least to dry them in, but the island of Cape Breton, which is situated at the entrance of the gulph of St. Laurence. It is about fifteen leagues distant from the island of Newfoundland, and the streight which separates Cape Breton from Nova Scotia, is about five leagues in length, and one in breadth.

breadth, being called the passage of Fron-fac. Its figure is irregular, and it is cut thro' by so many lakes and rivers, that the two chief parts of it are joined together by an isthmus of about 800 paces in breadth, which neck of land separates the bottom of port Toulouse from several lakes, which are called Labrador. The climate of this island is pretty much the same with that of Quebec, and tho' mists and fogs are here very frequent, the air is not unwholesome. All lands here are not good, nevertheless they produce trees of all sorts, fruit, wheat, &c. which are every whit as good here as in Canada.

All the domestic animals, such as horses, hogs, horned cattle, sheep, goats, and poultry, pick up a good living here. What is got by hunting, shooting, and fishing, is sufficient to maintain the inhabitants a good part of the year. This island abounds in coal-pits, which are in the mountains, and consequently are got with little trouble and expence. Here is also plaister in abundance, and there is no part of the world where more cod-fish is caught. Partridges are here as large as pheasants, and not unlike them in their feathers. All its ports are open to the east; turning a little to the south, and within the space of 55 leagues, beginning at Port Dauphin, and continuing to port Toulouse. In all other ports of the island,

island, it is difficult to find anchorage for small vessels; and all the northern coasts are almost inaccessible.

The harbour of Louisbourg, formerly called the English Harbour, is not above a league from the bay of Gaborie, of which the entrance is about a league wide, and is perhaps one of the finest harbours in America. Two leagues farther up, is the port de la Balcine. From thence, in less than the distance of two leagues, you come to the bay of Penadou, the entrance of which is about a league broad, and the bay itself is about two leagues deep. Almost over against this bay, is the island Scatari, formerly called Little Cape Breton, besides which, there are many other small ones which may be discovered a great way off. There is between all these, islands and rocks, very good shelter, and you may go among them without fear or danger. The port Dauphin is about two leagues in circumference, and ships can hardly feel the wind there, by reason of the mountains which surround it. All the harbours and forts being so near each other, it would be very easy to make roads by land from one to the other, and nothing could be more advantageous to the inhabitants than these communications, which would save them the trouble of going so far about in the winter season by sea.

Having

Having already observed in our account of St. Christopher's, that the English and French took possession of that island on the same day, and that from thence we are to date the power of the French in the West Indies; we come now to put the reader in mind, that the Leeward islands were originally discovered by Columbus, but when the Spaniards had settled themselves in Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, and the other great islands, they neglected the rest, which induced the English and French to think of settling in these lesser. Mr. Desnambue therefore having fortified himself in St. Christopher's, and laid the foundation of a good colony, for the support of which there was a company formed in France; began to observe, that the English had got the start of him here, and that their colony was in a better condition than his own; hereupon he resolved to send some of his principal persons to solicit supplies, and chiefly with a view of settling the island of Guardaloupe. Amongst the persons he sent over there was one Mr. Olive, a bold enterprising man, who had nothing in view but his own interest: he had some notice of Mr. Desnambue's design, and was resolved to supplant him; for this purpose he entered into a treaty with one Mr. du Plessis, and some other merchants of Dieppe, who formed a company for the support of this scheme. These two were sent over governors, with joint



joint authority, to the island of Guardaloupe, at which place they arrived June 8, 1635, with about 500 men. In the beginning of this undertaking, they committed two notorious blunders. First they settled on the wrong side of the island, where the soil was very bad. Secondly, they fell out with the natives, before the colony was in a condition to subsist. The bad consequences which attended these events, soon broke the heart of Mr. Du Plessis: As for Mr. Olive, who was now sole governor, he behaved so haughtily, that he would certainly have ruined the colony, if he had not fallen blind. Upon this, the company sent over Mr. Aubert, a very discreet person, who, in a few years, put the affairs of the colony into order again, and it has subsisted happily ever since. Tho' Mr. Desnambue had the misfortune to see this country taken out of his hands, he had the pleasure of settling the island of Martini-  
nico before he died.

At this time cardinal Richlieu was at the head of affairs in France, and having been informed of the advantages that were like to arise from the settling of these islands, thought proper to send over a person of distinction, to take upon him the direction of the whole, and accordingly made choice of Mr. Poincy, a knight of Malta, for this office, conferring upon him the title of governor and lieutenant general of the islands in America. He was

a man well acquainted with the world, and was very severe in the execution of his authority; against those especially who made haste to be rich at the public expence; but extremely kind and good to the industrious part of the people, who were willing to discharge their duty. He had a true notion of religion, and caused churches to be built, in all the islands, and took care that the priests should be well maintained, but would have no monasteries of monks. He established an excellent form of justice, granted commissions to privateers, and hanged up pirates with little ceremony. His concern for the public was so manifest, that without any assistance from the French government he was in a manner absolute; because the people were made sensible that he had nothing in view but their interest, so that his orders were obeyed with great alacrity. He changed the face of things in that part of the world, and tho' he made hundreds rich and happy, he acquired no fortune to himself.

But after the death of cardinal Richlieu, and the disturbances that followed, these colonies began to decay, by the ill management of the company, and then the Chevalier de Poincy, purchased the islands of St. Christopher's, St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, and of the Holy Cross, for the order of Malta, in the same manner as other islands  
were

were disposed of by the French company, to such as would give any thing for them; which proved of bad consequence, and brought the affairs of the French, in that part of the world, into a strange situation.

The Dutch, always attentive to their own interest, taking notice of the condition things were now in, erected magazines at Flushing, and Middleburgh, for West India commodities, and employed every year above 100 ships in the trade of the French islands. This continued till 1664, when a new company was formed in France, and supported by the government, who purchased back from the knights of Malta, and other proprietors, the right of these islands, which put a stop to the Dutch trade, and brought the commerce of these colonies into its original channel; and this was what the government had chiefly at heart. Some years after, these new regulations took place, since which time the French islands have flourished, and are, at this day, of very great consequence to the crown of France, as they promote manufactures at home, and are the source of a profitable commerce abroad. After this general view given of the methods made use of to settle and secure these islands to France, we shall proceed to give a brief account of these colonies themselves, and a more particular detail of their commodities, to shew the importance of these settlements, and

rectify some mistakes that have been made about them : a knowledge, as useful to us, as to the French themselves.

We shall begin with Granada, situated in 12 deg. north latitude, about 30 leagues south west of Barbadoes. This island is about 25 leagues in circumference, and has several good bays and harbours, some of which are fortified. It is esteemed a fruitful soil, and is well watered, producing sugar, and such other plants as are found in the Caribbee islands. At the north east end of Granada, there are a number of small islands called the Grandillas. Martinico, is situated between 14 and 15 deg. north latitude, lying about 40 leagues from Barbadoes. It is 20 leagues long, and as many broad, but very hilly, and appears at a distance like three distinct mountains. Here are numerous rivulets, and several good harbours, some of them so well fortified, that they bid defiance to the English when they made a descent there, with several 1000 men in the last war; it being now the chief of all the Caribbee islands, and the seat of their governor general. Marigalante is situated in 16 deg. north latitude to the south west of Guardaloupe, and is about five leagues in length, and four in breadth. It was first discovered by Columbus, in his second voyage to America in 1493, and called by him Marigalante, or the Gallant Mary, after the name of his ship. The produce of  
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it is much the same with the other Caribbee islands.

Guardaloupe, so called by Columbus, from the hills of that name in Spain, is situated in 16 deg. north latitude, about 30 leagues north of Martinico, and as much south of Antego, or Antigua. It is reported to be the largest of all the Caribbee islands, being 22 leagues in length, and near half as many in breadth. This, like Martinico, abounds in sugar, cotton, indigo, ginger, &c. and is in a very flourishing condition, for as it is found to be of great consequence to the French, they have fortified it with regular forts. They began to send colonies here in 1632, but those people were for many years in danger of starving, and almost ruined one another by their divisions; so that it did not make any figure till the present century; but now it makes more sugar than any of the British islands, except Jamaica.

Desiderada, so called by Columbus, being the first land he discovered in his second voyage to America, is situated about ten leagues from Guardaloupe, but it is small, and not so fertile as some other islands belonging to the French. St. Bartholomew, is a very small island, about ten leagues north of St. Christopher's, taken by the English under the command of Sir Timothy Thornhill in 1689, but restored to the French by the peace of Ryswick. Santa-Cruz, another

ther small island, situate in 17 deg. 30 min. north latitude, about 20 leagues east of St. Kits, has been contended for by the English, Spaniards, French and Dutch: but is now in the possession of the French West India company. St. Martin, another island belonging to the French, but of little or no consequence, is situate north west of St. Bartholomew's.

Martinico, is the chief of the French settlements: the governor general, and intendant reside here; and it is the seat of the sovereign council, which has jurisdiction throughout the Antilles, and all over the settlements in St. Domingo and Tortugo. The number of people in this island are computed to be 10,000 whites, and 20,000 negroes. It is evident from hence, that the French are very numerous in these islands, and tho' they have met with great difficulties in establishing them, yet do they now carry on a great trade, and are daily improving. The principal commodity they raise here at present is sugar, whereas it was formerly tobacco. Mr. Poincy abovementioned was the first who taught them how to raise the sugar cane, and cure the juice of it. He not only introduced this art, but carried it to a very high perfection. They raise here likewise cotton and indigo. They cultivate cocoa to great advantage, and draw a considerable profit from ginger, cassia, and pie-  
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mento. They also manufacture rocou for the use of dyers, and send home variety of medicinal gums, and sweet meats of several kinds.

Before we speak of the trade between these islands and France, we shall give a short account of the quantities of sugar that are raised in them. In Martinico, it is computed that they make, one year with another, ten thousand hogheads, about 600 lb. weight each. In Guardaloupe about 4000, and in the other islands about 1000 all together. The French employ in this trade about 250 ships annually. The vessels from Rochelle and Bourdeaux, are commonly laden with salt beef and pork, flour, brandy, all sorts of wines, dried cod, herrings, oil, cheese, butter, tallow, iron, and all sorts of mercery goods. The ships from Rouen are freighted with woollen and linnen goods, hats, silk, shoes, stockings, ribbons, tin, copper and brass ware, small arms, pins, needles, cards, paper, pens, and the like. The ships from Marseilles and Toulon carry dried fruits, oil, wines, and several sorts of light stuffs, that are made in Provence. Thus we see what prodigious advantages these settlements bring to France, which they take every possible method to encourage and protect. As to the general account of their trade we shall depend upon the calculation made by Mr Savary. The goods exported  
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from France, says he, amount to 200,000 l. annually, for which he reckons they bring in double the value in West India commodities; so that the profits of these islands in all branches of trade, may be fairly computed at half a million sterling.

It was in the year 1697 the French gained the legal possession of all the western half part of St. Domingo, which they have settled very effectually; for in 1726 the number of people there was computed at 30,000 whites, and 100,000 negroes and Mulattoes. The principal place they have on the north side of the island is Cape Francoise, which is very happily situated, and has a very good port. The town is large and well peopled, containing 4000 white, and as many negro inhabitants; on the west side they have the town and fort of Laogane, which is the seat of the government; and, besides these, they have several good ports, and good towns.

The principal trade of St. Domingo, for many years, consisted in tobacco, in which were 6 or 700 ships employed; but upon an exclusive farm of this commodity established in France, this trade began to decline, and is now sunk to nothing. Instead of tobacco they began to plant sugar, which, in a short time, became the staple commodity of that island; and is, in the opinion of some, the best in the West-Indies. The French writers are thoroughly persuaded, that



that there are mines of several sorts in this country, but while the sugar and indigo affords so much, they are never like to look for any of them.

Corn has been sown here; but as it is said to ripen at different times, it cannot be reaped with profit; and tho' their grapes are fine, they make neither wine, nor raisins; the truth of the matter seems to be, that the government discourages wine and corn, and their motives are reasonable: for if the French take off all their sugar and indigo, it is but justice that the inhabitants of Domingo should take all their wine and corn from France. It is from the same motive, that the Spaniards discourage silk, of which they here made great quantities, and very good. Hence it is very apparent, that this is, beyond comparison, the most important colony that the French have, which is the reason they are so desirous of gaining the cession of the other half from the Spaniards: which some time or other is more than probable they will obtain, if the other powers of Europe do not provide against it.

On the south side of the French part of St. Domingo, lies the little island Avache, about 12 leagues distant from the continent; this island lies very convenient for carrying on trade with the Spanish colonies on the continent of America, and, sooner or later, the French will, in that respect, make it turn  
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to good account. It is also very commodious for having an intercourse with the only settlement they have on the southern coast ; we mean Cayenne, of which we shall entertain our readers with a short description ; because, tho' the French have not hitherto drawn any considerable advantage from it, this island may become troublesome.

Cayenne has been a French colony ever since 1625. It lies close by the continent of Guiana. The town and fort where the great road is at the mouth of the river Guiana, are exactly in 4 deg. 50 min. north latitude. The length of the island from the river Ovia to the river Cayenne, is about seven leagues, and the breadth about three. This island has much meadow and pasture ground in several parts. The middle of it is low and marshy, and almost impassable. The edges of it are mostly covered with mangroves, having a peculiar quality of growing in salt-water, so thick, and wide-rooted, that from these roots, off-sets spring up without end, which are so very close interwoven with each other, that in some parts of the island a man may walk leagues on them, without touching the ground.

About 20 years ago the island was very unhealthy, because the ground was close wooded and marshy, and by reason of the long rains which lasted sometimes for nine months ; but since the ground has been cleared

cleared, it is not near so pernicious as formerly, tho' it is still an uncomfortable place to live in, on account of the scorching heat night and day, the heavy showers, and vapours exhaled from the swampy grounds, which dispirit a man. They are also tormented with gnats, flies, and worms, as well as other sorts of vermin, for which reason several planters, when grown rich, retire into France, and let their plantations.

The soil of Cayenne, by reason of the continual rains, produces plenty of sugar-canes, which tho' small, and short-jointed, yield plentifully. The cassibi, Indian wheat, rocou, cotton, apples, banillas, pete, ebony, violet-wood, annanas, tuberoses, &c. with several sorts of American and European grains, besides lemons, oranges, indigo, and figs, grow here in plenty. The country abounds also in wild bears, deer, agontils, woodcocks, ortolans, nightingales, arras, parrots; parraquets, and other birds, only remarkable for their feathers; also flamingoes, birds as big as a hen, flying in flocks like wild-geese, with red tufts on their heads, lizards, cameleons, and large serpents 25 feet long.

The chief town of Cayenne stands on the west part of the island, in an advantageous situation, nature and art having equally contributed to the fortifying it. On the north east part of it, towards the gate of Armire,

Armire, the Jesuits have a little chapel, standing alone, and before it is a grove of lemon-trees, affording a pleasant shade to walk under. The chapel is adorned with a wooden spire, and good bells. — On a steep hill stands the fort of St. Lewis de Caperoux, built by order of Lewis XIII. On the sea side, it commands every way, and is mounted with 52 iron guns. The garrison consists of four companies of regular troops, besides 500 inhabitants, mostly French, and divers Indians, who live in cottages at some distance from the town, because of the goodness of the soil, and the wholesomeness of the air. These, upon the least alarm, are obliged to stand to their arms. The next town to this is Armire, lying about three leagues to the eastward; but is small, and thinly peopled, where the Jesuits have a chapel also. About a league farther east is the point Matures, and near it a very fine plantation for sugar. West of this plantation stands an India carbet or village. These are all the remarkable towns of Cayenne, except a few plantations and cottages, in other parts of the island; the fourth part of which consists of meadow and pasture.

The colony is partly subsisted by provisions brought from France, in merchants ships, whose lading consists of wine, brandy, meal, salt meats, all sorts of linnen cloathing, stuffs, silks, shoes, and all sorts of

of tools, either for the service of the colony, for the Amazons, or India trade, are here bartered, for sugar, tortoise-shell, rocou, indigo, tyger-skins, and other considerable curiosities of the country. The other necessary provisions, which are the product of the island, are cassibi, and Indian wheat. The sea and river fish, poultry, pigeons, ring-doves, turkeys, venison, hares, hogs, and wild boars are also a part of their subsistence, and of all these they have plenty. But lamენტins, and sea tortoises, are their chief provisions, and may well be called the manna of the poorer sort. The flesh of the manati used at Cayenne, comes ready salted from the river of the Amazons, several of the principal inhabitants sending vessels thither to purchase and bring it away. When these vessels have entered the river of the Amazons, the Indians, who follow this trade, go on board their canoes, taking with them salt; then run up the river to catch the manitoes, that are cut in pieces, and salted as soon as taken, then they return to their vessels, which go not up, because the Portuguese claim a right to the north side of that river, and give no quarter to the French or other Europeans, they can take in their liberties, which occasioned many quarrels between them; but this controversy was decided by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which fixed the boundary. The French have ever since

used all arts imaginable to render this colony of some use ; but hitherto all their endeavours have proved fruitless ; for tho' the number of whites upon this island may amount to 12 or 1500, and the whole number of the people, taking in soldiers and slaves, may be 3000, of whom there are 70 Jews, who carry on an underhand trade with the Dutch and Portuguese, in whose hands is all the gold and silver they have in that country, and yet are these people very far from being rich.

We have already in our history of the French East India company, mentioned the several attempts made by Mons. de la Salle for the discovery of the Mississippi, but he not being able to find the mouth of this river, resolved to fix a colony at the bay of St. Lewis, which is 100 miles west of the Mississippi, where he making various excursions, and enduring great hardships, was murdered by two of his own people. Seven years after Mons. Iberville undertook to perform all that Mons. de la Salle had promised, and was really as good as his word. He carried his people very safely to the mouth of the great river, and there laid the foundation of the first colony the French ever had on the Mississippi, where he obliged them to erect a strong fort, before he would return to France, to obtain supplies. The success of this voyage made him very welcome

come to the king, who promised him all the assistance in his power; accordingly he soon put to sea again, and his second voyage was as fortunate as the first; but very unluckily for the colony, he fell sick and died as he was preparing for the third. This had very near overturned the whole design, had not the public spirit of a private man, supported it at his own expence, receiving from the government an authority to act in this manner.

In the grant of Louisiana to Mr. Crozat by Lewis XIV. 1712, the bounds of it are said to be, the Lake of Illinois on the north, Carolina on the east, the gulph of Mexico on the south, and new Mexico on the west. As to Canada, the French would scarcely admit it had any bounds to the north on this side the pole, till they were limited on that side by an article in the treaty of Utrecht, which assigns New Britain and Hudson's Bay to Great Britain; and commissioners on both sides afterwards ascertained the limits, by an imaginary line, running from a cape of New Britain to the Atlantic ocean: all the lands to the north of the said line being assigned to Great Britain, and all the south of that line, as far as the river St. Laurence, to France. These are the true limits of Louisiana and Canada. This grant to Mr. Crozat did not subsist long; he was obliged to resign it, for the purposes

of the government, who took all imaginable pains to represent it as a paradise, whence were to be derived riches inexhaustible. It was these Indies in the North Seas, that gave birth to our notions of finding Indies in the South Seas; but in the end both proved bubbles. The Mississippi river, according to the French account, rises in the north west part of Canada, and discharges itself into the Gulph of Mexico, by four or five mouths of several large rivers falling into it both from the east and west.

The country upon the banks of the Mississippi, has nothing more to recommend it, than that the air is softer than that of Canada, and the soil more fertile. As this country lies in the middle, between the Spanish colonies on one side, and the English on the other, the French have fancied to themselves a possibility of driving out both; but, this must certainly proceed from their national vanity, unless both the former should become very negligent, and the French should be still farther successful in their present encroachments on the Ohio. However it highly behoves the British government to retaliate their insults, after the defeat of colonel Washington, lest greater mischiefs should befall us.

Tho' the French at present have divided this country into nine provinces, the only place they have of any consequence is new Orleans,



Orleans, which is seated about 120 miles from the mouth of the Mississippi, in a very fruitful part of the country, where the inhabitants raise corn sufficient for their subsistence, and some tobacco. This town of Orleans is a considerable place, both with respect to its size and strength, and the jesuits sent from Europe have taken a great deal of pains to bring over the Indian nations to the French interest, in which they have too well succeeded; on that it is too evident they build their hopes of establishing a powerful empire in this part of America, which would certainly have been prevented, had we kept possession of Cape Breton; for by these means Canada had rather been made a burden than an advantage to France.

It must be owned, that it is very possible to raise several valuable commodities, both on the river St. Laurence, and on the Mississippi, but yet it may very well be doubted, if timely care be taken, whether they can ever be able to do this to their own advantage. While our northern colonies supply their sugar islands with lumber, in exchange for their molosses, it will hinder their taking, except in time of war, those goods even from their own colonies, and nothing but an advantageous open market can tempt the inhabitants to raise them. As for tobacco, wine, and silk, in Louisiana, they

may serve them to talk of, but there is little reason to believe they will ever apply to the cultivation of them in earnest. For as to tobacco, it is not likely they should raise it better and cheaper than in Virginia, to which, at present they give the preference to that raised in St. Domingo. As to wine and silk, tho' they would be valuable commodities to us, they could scarce be so to them; considering how much of their own wine they export to the colonies, and what vast quantities of silk they raise in their European dominions.

Upon the whole, tho' the French have great views in America, and seem indefatigable in the pursuit of those views; to speak impartially, there is very little reason to believe, if we would carefully advert to our own affairs, and could come to a right understanding with Spain, they will be ever able to draw any great profit therefrom, or be able to succeed. We may further add, that if ever we come to form right notions of the sugar trade, and in consequence thereof, give all necessary encouragement to the inhabitants of these islands in time of peace, and make it our business to distress the French in this delicate article, in time of war, it is not only possible, but very probable, we may drive them out of that trade, which would be to us a very happy event, as well as to them the greatest disappointment.

C H A P.

# C H A P. XI.

*The present state of the Dutch settlements in America; with an account of the Danish settlement, the whole taken from the Dutch authors.*

**P**RINCE Maurice of Naffau, as able a captain, as great a statesman, and the best patriot, that family ever produced; formed a scheme of raising an empire in America; which, had it been as steadily pursued, as it was wisely projected, would have defied the rage of enemies, evaded the power of accidents, and have escaped the teeth of time. He plainly saw, that their establishment in Brazil, as flourishing as it seemed, would come to nothing, if it was not supported by new acquisitions. To prevent this, he formed a project, which was as follows: He being informed that the inhabitants of Chili, which lies at the back of Brazil, had revolted from, and driven out the Spaniards; he resolved to fix a Dutch colony there, which he thought might be easily done, under the plausible pretence of assisting the natives, against their imperious lords the Spaniards.

He communicated this design to the states general, and explained to them the advantages with which it would be attended. Vast and prodigious as this design was, the  
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states readily embraced it, and without difficulty disposed all things requisite to carry it into execution. They thought however that some part of the expence should be borne by the West India company; because, in case it succeeded, they were to receive the greatest share of the profit.

The person fixed upon to command in chief, with the title of general, was captain Henry Brewer, a man of great abilities, and remarkable for personal courage; but with a strong tincture of cruelty. He sailed from the Texel, November 6, 1642, and arrived at Fernambuco on the coast of Brazil, on the 22d of December following, where having conferred with count Maurice of Nassau, general, and commander in chief for the dutch in Brazil, he sailed with five ships, and on the 16th of January 1643, came within sight of the streights of La Maire, which are since called Brewer's Streights, in memory of this expedition. They came to an anchor in a bay of States-island, where they remained till March 15, when they sailed round Cape Horn, suffering pretty much by stormy weather, and losing one of their ships, which was called the Orange-tree; they, with the other four, got safe to Chili, at the latter end of April following. On the 9th of May, they came to an anchor in a bay of the South Sea, to which they gave the name of Brewer's-bay.

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An officer being sent on shore here, with a company of soldiers, they saw herds of cattle, horses, sheep, and a few houses, which were deserted by the inhabitants: but on going ashore the next day, they discovered a party of Spanish horse, and some cannon shot were fired at the boat. The third day, a company of 50 soldiers were sent ashore, who defeated a party of Spanish horse, and foot, consisting of 90 men, near the town of Carelmappa; whereupon they abandoned the place, and the Dutch took possession of it. Here they staid till the 25th, then killed the horses they had taken from the Spaniards, and set fire to the town. They afterwards sailed to the town of Castro, on the island of Chiloe, where they arrived on the 6th of June.

There appeared a large body of Spanish horse and foot on shore; but the Dutch no sooner landed, than the inhabitants set fire to the town, and ran away. The Dutch taking off 40 hogs, and about 100 sheep, quitted this island, and returned to Brewer's bay. From hence they were making the best of their way to the river Baldivia, but being driven by contrary winds, they came again before Carelmappa; where they landed a company of soldiers, and took three Spaniards prisoners, who informed them, that there were gold mines at Orforno, and more at Baldivia, but that they had not been wrought

wrought of late; that there were none to be seen at Castro; the Indians having not been compelled to work since the general revolt in 1595.

They learned also from an old Spanish woman they had taken, that before the revolt, the Spaniards lived in great splendor at Orforno, and that the meanest of them had 300 Indian vassals, who were obliged to pay their respective lords a weekly tribute in gold, and were used so cruelly by the Spaniards, that the Chilese rose to a man, drove them from Orforno, and the other Spanish towns, so that they possessed little more in this part of Chili than Carelmappa, and St. Michael de Calembuco, and that the Indians were at that time actually in war with them. This was confirmed by five of the Caziques, who came on board, and assured the Dutch they were extremely rejoiced, that they were come to their assistance. The Dutch answered, they had brought good store of arms, for their countrymen of Orforno, Baldivia, and other places, to exchange for such merchandise as Chili afforded, and to enable them to make war against the Spaniards, and that they would assist them to the utmost of their power. Whereupon the general made a present to them of some spears, and swords, as also muskets, with powder and ball, and the Chilese sent them black cattle on board in return.

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Thus far this expedition had succeeded, being under the management of one, who was equal to the project he went upon ; but on the death of general Brewer, which happened on the 7th of August, the ruin of this well-projected empire was accomplished. From this short detail we shall proceed to an account of the small remains of their territories in America, which tho' they would be of little use to any other nation, are notwithstanding very beneficial to them.

The most considerable of their settlements is Surinam, which formerly belonged to us, and was the sole remains of Sir Walter Raleigh's discoveries in Virginia. The commodities they raise here, are sugar, indigo, ginger, and cotton, for the improvement of which, they have a constant supply of negroes from their colonies in Africa, where a part of their goods likewise are taken off, and when it amounts to more than the price of the negroes, the balance is commonly paid in gold dust.

Besides this settlement, they have three others on the continent, viz. Boron, Berbice, and Approwack, which lie contiguous to each other, and in which they raise for the most part the same commodities as in Surinam ; except in Berbice, where they prepare a very rich dye, called Orlane, from an herb of the same name, much in the manner of indigo. They have likewise the  
good

good fortune to have for their neighbours in that colony, a race of good-natured Indians, with whom they trade for provisions, hides, and other merchandize.

But as these colonies lie on the frontiers of Guiana, we shall give some account of this region, from those who actually inhabit it. The lower parts of this country are very wild, and but thinly peopled, being frequently over-flowed by the rivers. The air in the up-lands is colder than that towards the coast, and the hills are rich in mines. Fruit is very plentiful here, and all sorts of grain grows all the year round, except wheat, there being no winter; so that they have trees always green, full of leaves, fruit, and blossoms. The waters are likewise excellent, and of such a particular nature, that they will keep sweet and fresh, during the longest voyages.

The sea about the coasts abounds in fish of most kinds. Fowl is also very plentiful, either tame or wild, as is game also, with all which they supply the European settlements at the sea coasts, exchanging for toys and iron. This country produceth divers sorts of physical gums, roots, and wood, among which is the letter-wood that grows no where in the world but here. Yet the natives cut and carry it to the water side, and sell it so cheap, that a ton of it does not cost above 10 s. which has been sold in  
prodigious



Europe for 50 l. sterling, and never under 25 l. or 30 l. to this day. They have prodigious large trees, whereof the Indians make canoes in which they carry 12 and 13 tons in casks.

The island Tobago lies in the latitude 11 deg. 15 min. north, and to the east of the islands called Antilles; it is about 12 leagues in length, 4 in breadth, and 30 in circumference. It originally belonged to us, for in 1628, we find that Charles I. granted it, together with Trinity Island, Barbuda, and St. Bernard, to Philip earl of Pembroke; but it does not appear that ever any settlement was made thereon in consequence of this grant. In 1642, the Dutch sent a colony thither, where they found the climate sickly and unwholesome at first; yet by degrees as they cleared it, the air agreed with them better, and they began to extend their settlements. The Spaniards, however, from the island of Trinity, in conjunction with the savages from St. Vincent, fell upon the Dutch, and murdered them to a man. In 1664, Mr. Adtian Lampsin, a Dutch East India director, in conjunction with his brother Cornelius, formed a design of re-settling this island at their own expence, and after having obtained a licence for that purpose from the states, applied themselves to the crown of France, in order to prevent any danger to this colony, from the subjects of that kingdom;

dom; and Lewis XIV. from a principle of indulgence to men of noble dispositions, created Mr. Lampsin baron of Tobago, and assigned him a coat of arms, sprinkled with Flower-de-Luces. Upon these encouragements the two brothers proceeded, and in the space of eleven years, from a waste and desert country, made this the most flourishing, for its size, of all the Leeward islands. But in 1678, marshal d'Estrees, by the express command of Lewis XIV. sailed with a very great fleet to destroy this settlement; for it seems to be one of the privileges of the barons of France, to be beggared when the grand monarch pleases, which with some difficulty was accomplished, to the eternal infamy of that barbarous prince, who placed his glory in making better men than himself miserable. This island was restored to the Dutch by the treaty of Nimeguen, and they have repaired some of their settlements, but is now a place not worth mentioning.

The island of St. Eustachius lies to the north west of St. Kit's. It is but small, being no more than five leagues in compass; the Dutch took possession of it in 1635, and granted it to Mr. Vanree with some other merchants of Flushing, who soon settled a colony there of about 600 families. In 1666, the English in Jamaica dispossessed the Dutch, and sent colonel Morgan with 300 buccaneers

neers to keep possession of the place, who soon after making an attempt upon the French part of St. Kit's, was killed; and the next year the Dutch and French engaged in a war against Great Britain, and made themselves masters of this island, which by the treaty of Breda was restored to the Dutch. In 1689, it was taken again from them by the French, but restored to the Dutch a second time by the treaty of Ryswick; since which time they have remained in peaceable possession thereof.

To the north west of this island lies that of Saba, which appears at first sight to be a rock, but the Dutch governors of St. Eustachius have sent a small colony thither, who have found it of a tolerable value, having there raised tobacco and other things. It is a great misfortune to both these islands, that they have not so much as one port; but in the former there is a good road, to command which, there is a strong fort. Here all the ships ride.

The island of St. Martin lies in the latitude of 18 deg. 15 min. and is about seven leagues long, and four broad. The climate is very far from being wholesome, and the soil cannot be very fertile, since there are no rivers, and very few springs, all which are dried up in the hot season; but as insignificant as it may appear, it has been contended for by three, and is actually inhabited

habited by two powerful nations. The Spaniards, in right of conquest, took possession of it; and built a strong fort there, to prevent any other nation from settling in it; but when the French, English and Dutch, had seized the more valuable islands, they resolved to quit this. They therefore destroyed their cisterns, burnt their houses, blew up their fort, and then returned to Porto Rico. It so fell out, that in this garrison there was four Frenchmen, five Dutch, and a Mulatto, all which hid themselves in a wood till the Spaniards were embarked; and then sallied out, and took possession of the whole island of St Martin, and agreed to divide the country between the French and Dutch; but Mr. De Poincy, being informed of this agreement, and the hardships they laboured under, sent an officer and 30 men to take possession of it for the crown of France, who were the first that attempted to settle there; but they allowing the Dutch to trade with them, they drove them out of it, and built a fort for their own security; some time after the Spaniards, not liking them for their neighbours, drove them out in their turn. As soon as the French officer returned to Mr. De Poincy, he sent his nephew with three hundred men to put an end to these disputes, and the Dutch governor was glad to settle the division of the island according to the first agreement. From this time the two  
nations

nations live together in strict friendship. The French settlement here is of very little consequence, but the Dutch are in a mighty good condition, and carry on a considerable trade in tobacco. In this island there is great plenty of a kind of tree, which both the Dutch and French call candlewood. When it grows dry, and fit to burn, it yields a very pleasant smell, and the small sticks of it serve for candles.

These are all the possessions of the Dutch in this part of the world, and it is equally surprising, that they have kept these so long, and that they have not been able to acquire better since; as it is certain that they succeeded, as well as any nation, in those they have settled; and carry on a considerable trade to Holland in all kinds of West India commodities; and as on the other hand they maintain a very considerable commerce in America, from their great warehouses of European goods; which they keep always full, and have small vessels ready to carry them, whenever they hear of markets; more especially in the time of war, between great Britain and France; for then they have an opportunity of supplying the colonies of both nations, in exchange for sugar and other West India goods; so that, in a very few years, such a war must necessarily make the Dutch planters prodigiously rich. We shall now proceed to their other islands,

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islands, which lie upon the Spanish coast, and are consequently the more valuable.

Curacao, is a small island in 12 deg. 40 min. north latitude, about nine or ten leagues long, and five broad. The soil of it is by no means fruitful, and the climate still less wholesome, or agreeable; but notwithstanding this, the Dutch have always drawn great advantages from this seemingly inconsiderable country, which they have turned into sugar and tobacco plantations. The Dutch town upon this island is, for its bigness, the finest in America, and there are in it every thing requisite to render it commodious and pleasant, as far as the climate and soil will permit. All kind of labour here is performed by engines, and that with such dexterity, that ships are lifted at once into the dock, where they are carefully careened, furnished with provisions, naval stores, ammunition, and even artillery itself, if they want it; and all this is done with equal readiness to all nations, the Dutch being in perpetual alliance with ready money, let it be English, French, or Spanish.

Bonaira and Aruba are two islands likewise in the possession of the Dutch, and dependant upon the island of Curacao, the former of which is twice as big. Here the Dutch have a deputy governor, a guard of soldiers, and a considerable number of Indians; which last are all husbandmen, and plant maize, guiney corn, yams and potatoes;

potatoes; but their chief business is about cattle, this island being plentifully stocked with goats, of which they send great quantities salted every year to Curacao. Here are some horses, bulls and cows, but no sheep or hogs all over the island. The island of Aruba not being above seven leagues distant from the Spanish coast, there cannot be a more convenient station for carrying on a clandestine trade; which was first introduced by the sale of Negroes brought thither by the Dutch from Guiney. The Spaniards bought these openly, and have transported in their own vessels 1500 at a time. But since the English from Jamaica have interfered in this trade, it is sunk very considerably. Some writers, however, have asserted, that in its most flourishing condition, the Dutch, by the slave trade alone, drew from the Spaniards above a million of pieces of eight per annum. In time of full peace, it has been computed, that the trade of this island did not produce less than half a million sterling per annum; and considering that they derive this from a parcel of rocks, that none but they would scarce think worth keeping, it is a prodigious thing.

There remains now but one island more in this part of the World, of which the nature of our design obliges us to give an account. This is the small island of St. Thomas, it lies in 18 deg. north latitude, and  
is

is one of the largest of that cluster of islands which are called the Virgins. 'Tis not above seven leagues in circumference: but has the advantage of a good situation in all respects. The port is excellent, and surrounded by two promontories, which defend the ships from almost all winds. In the center of the port is a small fortress with four good bastions, and besides its walls, it has a pallisade with which it is surrounded. This island belongs to the king of Denmark, who has a governor and a garrison here, but there is besides, a large factory, which belongs to the Brandenburgers, who are subjects to the king of Prussia.

The Spanish island of Porto Rico, being but 17 leagues distant, secures the inhabitants of St. Thomas from any danger of wanting provisions, to which they would otherwise be exposed; for tho' their soil is good, and every foot of it cultivated, it would not produce a sufficient maintainance for the people, which, for the size of the place, are very numerous. The town of St. Thomas consists of one long street; at the end of which is the Danish magazine, a very large, magnificent building. The Brandenburg factory is very considerable, and the persons belonging to it are chiefly Refugees, who fled thither when the Protestants were expelled from the French islands. The chief produce of their plantations is sugar, and tho' the whole amount  
cannot



cannot be considerable, yet the Danish governor is generally a man of rank, and acquires a very good fortune in that station, as does the director of the Danish trade likewise, it being in a few years very large and extensive. In the first place the Spaniards send large vessels hither continually for slaves, which they draw from their settlements in Africa; but besides slaves, the Spaniards buy here all sorts of European goods, of which there is always a vast stock, as is before observed, in the Dutch magazines: besides their trade with the Spaniards, there is a great resort of French, Dutch, and English vessels to this port; where they can always depend upon the sale of superfluous, as well as necessary commodities. In time of war, the trade of St. Thomas is vastly increased, and immense sums of money are turned in the space of a year; for being a neutral port, the privateers of all nations resort hither to sell their prizes, and the Dutch, who will not receive any thing taken from the Spaniards at Curacao, buy these goods without scruple at St. Thomas's, having an agent, and large sums of money there for that purpose.

This manner of dealing in time of war, is so very advantageous, that the people of St. Thomas can hardly leave it off in time of peace; but are a little too apt to deal with a sort of privateers, which we call pirates.

This

This passes in the eye of the world, for the trade of the Danes, but the truth is, that the greatest part of this commerce is driven by their neighbours, who are not scrupulous of dealing with any people, where they can do it to advantage. It was here that the famous captain Avery disposed of the greatest part of the rich goods taken in a ship belonging to the Mogul, about 80 years ago; when the magazines of St. Thomas were so excessively full of Indian goods, that they were not empty'd in 20 years after. It was by this accident, that pieces of Arabian gold, which were properly speaking Pagodas, were long current in the West Indies, by the name of Sequins, at the rate of about six shillings; and nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon and mace, were bought very cheap for many years after.

Having now run thro' the history of the plantations in America, from its first discovery, we proceed to shew there is nothing more absurd, than to fancy that well-regulated colonies tend to depopulate their mother countries; which is so far from being true, that the more populous any plantations are, the better peopled their mother countries must be; for the more flourishing the settlement, the greater the consumption of manufactures and home commodities in that settlement; now, these cannot be consumed, unless they are furnished, and they cannot be

be furnished without a multitude of hands; but employment will procure these, and consequently people a plantation, and by a kind of political attraction, produce that circulation of Industry, which is the health of the constitution. Again, tho' all trade is beneficial, the trade between mother countries and their plantations is of all others most advantageous; because wherever the profit falls, the same people reap it, and little or nothing is diverted into foreign channels.

It is a truth incontestible, that from the year 1607, when the English built and fortified their first town, called James Town, in Virginia, that neither the French nor any other European nation, *either possessed or pretended to have a right to possess*, any part of America, on that side; and that these countries have been confirmed to the English, between them and the natives, by divers treaties, to their mutual satisfaction, has been already shewn; which good understanding, might have continued to the end of time, if those common enemies to the peace and property of mankind, *the French*, had not come to sow discord, and propagate mischief.

This *worthy people* sailing up the river St. Laurence, planted themselves on the back of Virginia, Maryland, New York, &c. which situation they seemed to have chosen to make inroads and descents upon the English at every opportunity that should offer.

They

They have also usurped the possession of the greatest part of Nova Scotia, which was ceded to Britain, by the treaty of Utrecht; and, if we suffer them to establish their settlements here, we do in a manner deliver up all Canada, and our fisheries to them; but that would not be the only bad consequence; for we shall be deprived of our far trade also.

We once furnished the greatest part of Europe with sugars, and in this article the French have supplanted us, as they will also, probably, in the article of tobacco, if we tamely sit down at their incursions on the back of Virginia.

*Come, ye great spirits, Cavendish ! Raleigh ! Blake !  
And ye of later name, your country's pride ;  
Oh come ! disperse these lazy fumes of sloth ;  
Teach British hearts with British fires to glow :  
Blazen the triumph of your better days,  
Paint all the glorious scenes of Rightful War,  
In all its splendors To our swelling souls.  
Say how, you bow'd the insulting Frenchman's pride,  
Say how, you thunder'd o'er their prostrate heads,  
Say how, you broke their lines, and fir'd their ports ;  
Say how, not death, in all its frightful shapes  
Cou'd damp your souls, or shake the great resolve  
For Rights and Britain !*

**The END of the SECOND VOLUME,**



A. MAP of the BRITISH EMPIRE in AMERICA, from the Head of HUDSON'S BAY to the Southern bounds of GEORGIA, with the intervention of CANADA.

